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ABSTRACT

This report summarizes information from an extensive study of university adult education conducted through questionnaires sent to the Association of University Evening Colleges, National University Extension Association institutions, and a sample of liberal arts colleges, plus interviews with various officials in 18 colleges and universities. Though particularly focused on liberal adult education, it is a very detailed study of the range of forces which favor or impede the growth of adult education in American higher education. Following a chapter on the history of university adult education and one on the status of liberal education programing, the report explores such factors as tradition, nature of the personnel, financial arrangements, goals and objectives, the community context, etc. A model growth cycle of adult education divisions is suggested and profiles of various types of divisions are presented. Appendix 1 gives notes on the methdology used for the study. Many tables are included. (EB)

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Forms and Forces
in
University Adult Education

BY

James T. Carey

AC 010 119

CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

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INTRODUCTION

This study is significant for several reasons. In the first place it presents information which is badly needed concerning adult education programs in institutions of higher education. Surveys of this kind from time to time are helpful.

More importantly, this is also a study in some depth. The selection of eighteen institutions for detailed analysis has resulted in much more than superficial descriptive facts.

Finally, the research is soundly and effectively undergirded by a well conceived theoretical framework. Here is an excellent example of how the use of theory can deepen understandings derived from research. For instance, adaptations of such concepts as growth cycle, the force-field situation, and equilibrium in movement aid in providing insights. The development and use of several typologies reveal full comprehension of the complexity of the subject matter. In fact, these typologies may well serve as landmarks in adult education and university extension. Such creative and imaginative concepts, used as a guide in analysis, give added value to the study. The summary of hypotheses is cautiously done and quite helpful.

Mr. Carey and the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults should be commended for this contribution to the understanding of one of the important functions of universities.

Gordon W. Blackwell

Tallahassee, Florida
December 8, 1960

SECTION I:

INTRODUCTION

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed the transformation of the United States from an isolated, rural, agricultural society into an industrialized and urban world power. This transformation, with its attendant technological, social, and economic changes, was inevitably accompanied by two crucial shifts in the orientation and ideals of individuals and institutions.

1. A dynamic attitude replaced the earlier static one: today men and institutions tend to view themselves as continuously changing entities and tend to reject ideals and plans that fail to incorporate the notion of continual change.
2. An expansionist attitude replaced the earlier conservative one: today notions of interrelatedness, organic growth, "togetherness" color the operations and planning of the more responsible societal elements, just as exploitation, monopolization, and "merging" color those of the less responsible elements.

American colleges and universities did not escape this ubiquitous transformation: they, too, adopted the principle of dynamic expansionism. As consequences, universities have become increasingly bureaucratized and many of their presidents have become primarily business managers and fund raisers rather than, as before, intellectual leaders. One of the earliest symptoms and salient features of this transformation was the university's acceptance of government and business contracts. Others were the increasing emphasis upon physical plant expansion, the competition for entering freshmen based on educationally peripheral considerations, the emergence of the "market" conception of curriculum development, and the concern for extension education.

The founding fathers of the modern liberal arts college would concur wholeheartedly with the earlier founders of the modern university in disavowing the "dynamic expansionism" of their current American progeny. Indeed, the 1950's have been notable for a new climate of self-criticism in American educational circles themselves, a climate that has become somewhat frenzied since the launching of Sputnik 1. American educators have come to concern themselves more and more seriously with the question, "Just what precisely are we preparing our citizens for?"

One of the significant problems to emerge from this recent introspectionism is: How much change can take place without making the survival of the thousand-year-old liberal arts tradition problematic?[1] To survive in America today, a university must grow, adapt, change. At the same time, the university is dedicated to the attempt to sustain the liberal tradition, build upon it, and communicate it to the largest possible audience.

The attempt to protect and foster the liberal tradition in the milieu of dynamic expansionism has its dedicated core of adherents. At the undergraduate level, the attempt has resulted in partial success; an increasing percentage of the college-age population is being exposed to the tradition. A growing group of publishers and leaders in industry, business, and politics is also championing the liberal cause. A more modest phase of the attempt is that being conducted by the educators who are trying to communicate the liberal tradition to the adults of the nation who can benefit from it. The burden of this last phase has been carried by university adult divisions—sporadically, sometimes unenthusiastically, and occasionally in a brilliant fashion.

The present study—undertaken in 1957 through a grant of $40,000 from the Fund for Adult Education—addresses the attempt being made by university adult educators to foster liberal education in an age of dynamic expansionism.

How is liberal adult education faring?

What may we expect of it in the future?

What are the organizational and institutional bases that must be present before it can exist and flourish?

The broader purposes of the study are (1) to give further depth

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1. This formulation is derived from Nicholas J. Demerath, "The Changing Character of the University," in George H. Daigneault, The Changing University (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1959), pp. 5-19.

and currency to the preceding studies in this limited area;[2] (2) to unify these earlier studies in order to make identity of common problems possible; and, through the addition of this depth, unity, and identity, (3) to formulate a platform for development, expansion, and progress. Thus the study is intended to be diagnostic, not simply another, more recent survey of the field. This implies that the study is designed to be of use to university adult leaders and agencies in their formation of policy.

With these broad purposes in mind, the study was designed to obtain the kind of data about adult education in institutions of higher learning that would help adult educators broaden their liberal programs and make them more effective. The specific aim of the study was to get as accurate and as detailed a description as possible of the "liberal" programs in American extension and evening colleges. Since only a comparative description could pretend to be adequate, it was necessary to determine the amount of time, energy, and funds, and the number of students, involved in liberal programs as compared to nonliberal ones. (Such descriptions also provide benchmarks against which to measure future changes.)

To implement this aim, a number of factors were isolated for examination. These factors were chosen because they were observably crucial in the past development of liberal adult education.

1. The source of control and organization of the adult division.
2. Local history and budgeting tradition.
3. Degree of parent institution acceptance of adult education.
4. The community context of the adult program.
5. The caliber and local status of the adult dean or director.

Before any attempt could be made to relate these five factors to the particular kind of liberal education that existed at a particular institution, it was necessary to clarify the meaning of "effective liberal education."

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[2] Frank Neuffer, Administrative Policies and Practices of Evening Colleges (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1953).
Jack Morton, University Extension in the United States (University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1953).

The Meaning of "Effective Liberal Education"

The research design presupposed a rough working definition of effective liberal education in institutions of higher learning. The working definition was established with the assistance of an advisory committee composed of adult deans and staff members from a number of universities that, by common consent, were considered among the best in the field.[3] With the help of this committee, a list of conditions that favor the development of liberal adult programs was drawn up. The existence of these conditions was then taken as *prima facie* evidence of the operation of desirable forces. The results of the study could now be translated into recommendations that might operate to improve the liberal arts programming of extension divisions. Specifically, the conditions established were the following:

1. The institution's statement of purposes should recognize the importance of liberal education for adults. This statement should be in a published, rather than in an understood, form. In addition, the statement should be recognized by all elements of the faculty (e.g., faculty committees and key personnel in central administration). Finally, the statement should be developed jointly by a widely representative university committee.
2. The regular liberal arts faculty should be involved in the planning of adult programs, even though its function might be simply advisory.
3. There should be a special staff assigned to liberal programming.
4. The administrative staff of the adult education division should have liberal arts background or some special interest in it.
5. There should be some degree of initiation of liberal education programming by adult divisions as contrasted with the mechanical offering of day or campus programs.

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[3] Martin Chamberlain, University of Washington; Alexander Charters, Syracuse University; James Crimi, Aurora College; Maurice F. X. Donohue, University of Chicago; James Harrison, Michigan State University; Ernest McMahon, Rutgers University; Paul Sheats, University of California.

6. There should be some commitment at more than a verbal level to experimental programs that need not be self-supporting.

7. There should be some breadth to an adult division's understanding of liberal education for different publics. (Does the division regard liberal education as appropriate only for remedial students who are working for degrees or, at the other extreme, only for alumni?)

8. There should be a stated intent to extend liberal education to disparate groups such as alumni, older people, labor groups, etc.

It was soon suggested that the foregoing set of conditions, or "desirable forces," could be construed as a definition of "effective liberal education." This suggestion served to pose yet another problem for the investigators—staff members of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. The constituency of the Center comprises universities and colleges that subscribe to different definitions of "liberal education" and different approaches to it. How could the study espouse a particular definition without alienating a large section of the group served?

The notion implicit in the elaboration of a set of conditions is that any type of liberal education that satisfies the conditions will be "good" from the investigators' point of view. In this sense the definition is operational; and in this sense, too, it reflects the dynamics of the field itself.

These conditions, however, do invite a more explicit definition of liberal education. Liberal education is education that looks to areas of knowledge traditionally considered liberating—knowledge of the physical and biological world, of oneself and others, of man's achievements and his cultures, of his religious and philosophical heritage. But to be appropriate to adult education, this definition presupposes organization in terms of the more important themes of adulthood rather than of adolescence. In brief, to the extent that liberal content is modified to take into account the adult's experience, thought patterns, and motivations it is liberal education from the standpoint of this study.[4]

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[4] See James B. Whipple, Especially for Adults (Chicago: Center

A more practical problem confronted the investigators in assessing the amount of liberal effort in the various colleges and universities across the country. It was impossible to "count" the amount of impact of the conditions and it was therefore necessary to use the respondent's own definition of liberal education. The study used as a fundamental unit the liberal arts course, and as a guide, the breakdown suggested by the U. S. Office of Education. Liberal arts then included all courses in the biological sciences, humanities, physical sciences and social sciences. It does not include the fields of education, engineering or business administration. (This simple classification scheme, however, was later extended in order to deal with unusual credit and noncredit programs, courses, and methods.)

The Character of Available Research Data

Most of the research into adult education activities of colleges and universities shows the strain of meeting the special difficulties which, at this stage of its development, are inherent in the field itself. The most common forms of research have been:

1. Status surveys of all sorts of administrative and teaching practices. These surveys range from modest questionnaires to elicit the range of salaries paid, to elaborate surveys among extension institutions and evening colleges. It is often difficult to understand the uses to which these data can be put. Do administrators carefully compare their own institutions with the norms indicated in such studies? Is it soothing and supportive to know that one's institution is somewhere near the norm? If it is not, does it arouse anxiety? It is likely that at least some of these data are used strategically in local situations to support budget requests. More often they engender either complacent feelings that one is doing about what everyone else is doing, or they evoke a list of reasons to explain why one's own institution cannot be compared to others.

   However they may be used, there is considerable interest in the field in having such surveys done. For those interested in

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for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1957) for an elaboration of some adult characteristics that educators should consider.

educational change, however, these data, by themselves have very little to recommend them. The validity of the studies, too, is often suspect, due in part to some of the problems that will be mentioned later.

2. Studies of individual problems. Examples of this kind of research may be found among the numerous studies of student drop-out, adult student motivation, etc. Some of these studies have been carefully done, because most were undertaken as master or doctoral theses, and many have been valuable. Unfortunately, there have been comparatively few of these studies; they have dealt with widely scattered problems; and, taken together, they fail to provide an even minimally comprehensive picture of the whole area of activity.

3. A third form of research has been a kind of diagnostic study based on the case method. Patterns of Liberal Education in the Evening Colleges is an example of this approach.[5] For the agency that sponsored it, this particular study was very useful: it provided a broad picture of the problems of liberal education in fairly representative evening colleges; through it, CSLEA was enabled to begin serious work. Patterns also proved to be useful for a number of other people in the field. But its general value is limited for a number of reasons. It was an exploratory study in which the Center was deliberately groping in the dark. (That it eventually stumbled onto the important factors is true enough, but it did not end up with a very accurate notion of the dimensions or dynamics of the factors. To discover and to estimate roughly the ambivalence among evening teachers about teaching adults is useful; but to have related this ambivalence to a theory of role conflict, and then to have studied it with some sharply focused hypotheses, would have produced much more meaningful and useful conclusions.) Another limitation, of course, is that Patterns was restricted to evening colleges and not to all college-level adult liberal education.

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[5] Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Patterns of Liberal Education in the Evening Colleges: A Case Study of Nine Institutions (Chicago: CSLEA, 1952).

Basic Problem

Past investigations had to deal with special and basic problems in the field itself. These problems are listed here because they had to be confronted anew in the present study:

1. The variation in the amount of control the adult dean has is tremendous. Some adult divisions are autonomous; others operate only as instruments for day departments. Deans or directors of some divisions are glorified bookkeepers who assign rooms and take in money; others are among the most powerful men in their institutions. Some adult deans report to day deans, others to presidents; some speak only to God. The locus of decision-making and policy formation is scattered all over the map and seems to depend upon the particular institution one is viewing.
2. The field itself is so young that theories about its operations and explanations of its problems are in the realm of guess work and folklore. As a result, most studies start out either with no hypotheses at all about what is being studied, or with hypotheses notable for a singular lack of sophistication.
3. The fluidity of the field coupled with its lack of definite organization, has made it difficult to find a common purpose for large-scale research. Aside from a generally expressed wish to "know what's going on" (which results in the kind of status studies mentioned earlier), administrators see research as answering their own very immediate tactical problems (for example, cutting drop-out rates, determining differences in the effectiveness of newspaper and direct-mail promotion). Research with a more general purpose, if it is to arise naturally from the field, must depend upon the existence of a common perception of strategical problems, or at least upon some general awareness, such as a sense of mission, among the key figures.

Preliminary interviewing at six institutions gave the investigators some deeper appreciation of the problems involved in this kind of inquiry. On the basis of these initial observations, it was decided to use a combination of survey research and case study method to deal with the wide variation in control and the lack of any specific theories of how the field operates. Some theoretical orientation was required, however, to help organize the data and pinpoint problem areas. The requisite hypotheses were developed out of a reading of the works of Morton and Neuffer cited earlier. The observations contained in these works were codified and reformulated so that they could be tested. The Center staff was enormously helpful at all stages of the project, providing ideas, suggestions, and clarifications of some of the research problems.

The theory that adult divisions go through typical stages of growth that can be charted was suggested by Everett Hughes.[6] (This study refers to the theory as the "growth cycle" theory of the adult division.) Briefly, we suggest that evening colleges and extension divisions go through four stages of growth:

The first stage is that of departmental domination. In this stage the control of faculty, programs, and resources is located in the regular departments and the adult division may have only part-time leadership.

The second stage reveals the impulse toward autonomous development. The adult enterprise enters this stage only when it escapes departmental domination.

The third stage occurs after a period of autonomous operation. It is the stage of movement toward integration. The independence of the evening college or extension division is no longer threatened by close ties with the campus. Rather, there is a recognition of the need for campus resources in doing a more effective job.

Finally, there is the stage of assimilation. In this stage the adult education function is recognized as a legitimate university concern and the adult division is accepted as a peer in the university family. Now the adult division has a well-developed notion of its service area and it is free to move within the university system to meet the needs of its many publics.

This concept of a pattern of growth has been extremely valuable to the investigators: it made it possible to chart regularities and to organize systematically all the information on university adult divisions. In using the theory, however, it was important to realize that the theory does not deny the fact that in particular instances there may be a great deal of fluctuation in growth. Some divisions may start at a later stage of development and grow very rapidly. Others may be arrested at some early level because of a unique set of circumstances. There is nothing inevitable about the "growth cycle." The five general factors isolated for study (cf. page 5 above) can be viewed as forces that either favor or inhibit the growth of liberal adult education. These forces operate in a different way at each stage of the life cycle. (The patterning of these forces will be elaborated in more detail in the body of the report.)

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[6] Everett Hughes, "Institutions," Principles of Sociology, ed. Alfred M. Lee (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1955).

Growth or change occurs when leadership within the adult division perceives and uses the opportunities present in its environment. The path forward toward the "ideal state" is marked by the quick perception, the sound decisions, and the adaptive enterprise of the crucial actors involved. Viewing these changes as phases of a growth cycle makes the path forward less rocky by evoking a series of questions pertinent to each stage of a division's growth; it may provide a framework within which leadership may more easily formulate sound recommendations.

Organization of the Report

The data accumulated by the study is organized and reported in Section II. The organizing principle of Section II is precisely those forces that have shaped liberal education programming and that are sustaining its present level of practice (cf. page 5 above). This organizing principle was chosen because it organizes the data in the most effective way for its practical use.

The organizing principle is a borrowed one: it employs the "field" approach of physics. Kurt Lewin's fruitful work on social change convinced the investigators that this imagery would enable them to isolate "pressure points" for attack by policy makers and by organizations interested in changing the present picture.[7] (See Methodological Notes,

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[7] Kurt Lewin, "Frontiers in Group Dynamics: Concept, Method and Reality in Social Science: Social Equilibria and Social Change," Human Relations, Vol. I, No. 1, 1947.

Appendix 1, for further clarification of this approach.)

Weighting of Factors

Some assumptions were made as to which factors were the most important, but not as to how they were interrelated at any particular school. The adult dean or director, as the key administrative officer, was usually the factor given most weight; his education, background, attitudes, and convictions were assumed to be of central concern to this study. More specifically, the attitudes of the dean toward liberal education were assumed to be crucially important, assuming that he had some freedom of choice. The university context of adult education was considered next in importance—especially the president's view of the adult program and the acceptance or rejection of the program by other key university personnel. Following university acceptance and closely linked to it were the budgeting traditions of the university and the adult division. These budget dimensions rarely operated as an independent variable but were usually a significant index of university acceptance. Also connected with university acceptance of the adult education function were the source of control and the organization of the adult division. Singly, these two factors do not explain an adult division's strength or its personnel's orientation toward liberal education, but they do provide important indices of internal support within the university. Lastly, there was the community context of the adult education program. Certainly, if the focus was on the clientele of the university adult education instead of its internal dynamics, this area would be the most important. In terms of this analysis, however, community context was considered of lesser importance than the other factors.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first system of public education in the American colonies was established in Massachusetts in 1647. Four attitudes that have shaped American education throughout its history appear clearly in the law with which this first system of public education was launched.

> It being one chiefe project of ye oulde deluder, Satan, to keepe men from the knowledge of ye Scriptures. . . . It is therefore ordered that every township . . . shall forthwith appoint one within their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read.[1]

These four attitudes—attitudes that have been assumed by most subsequent American politicians and educational theorists, voters and educational administrators, parents and teachers—are:

1. Education should be inspired by felt practical needs.
2. Education is a powerful and effective tool for the satisfaction of practical needs: knowledge is power.
3. Education should be public; it should be available to every prospective citizen.
4. Education is a governmental responsibility; government should encourage and actively sponsor education.

A century and a half later the United States was born. From its inception the new republic encouraged the development of public schools and colleges. America's early leaders recognized that effective democracy presupposes an enlightened citizenry; they championed the view that education is an inalienable right of every citizen.

This is not to suggest that all early Americans felt that education should be thoroughly democratic at all levels. Gentlemen from the old English tradition were more or less in exclusive possession of the nobler skills of the humanities and many of them felt that these noble skills should be limited to the aristocracy. Fortunately the country was so large, and there was so much to be done, that the fears of these gentlemen regarding the provision of reading and writing skills to the masses could never crystallize into a powerful force. Lack of effective opposition made the extension of the democratic attitude to encompass the liberal arts and the "higher learning" easier than it might otherwise have been.

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[1] Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, II, 203.

The events of the nineteenth century were to lead more and more Americans to the classroom and to keep them there longer. This culminated, finally, in a new movement that came to be called "University Extension": If the people can't or won't come to the university, the university must go to them. By the end of the nineteenth century many scholars were energetically spreading the gospel of university extension, working to see that the entire population of the United States might share in this product of democracy.

The history of extension, its sources and its roots in American life, constitute one of the forces sustaining the present level of adult liberal education. History-as-a-force is always a significant element in a developmental study, and because of its application in the current study, an entire chapter is allotted to it.

The Formative Era: The Nineteenth Century

In the course of the 1800's, stodgy entrenched ideas were swept away one by one, as were the trees and brush covering so much of the land. The notion that education is the imperative of a governing elite—of those born to it! —received a mortal blow with the election of Jackson in 1828. During the second half of the century, industrialization, the newly emerging importance of science and technology, and the secularization of society intertwined to produce profound effects upon American education, increasing its scope and prestige. This period saw the expansion of state universities and the growth of the idea of the school as a public institution with responsibilities to society.

During the nineteenth century, attempts to fulfill these social responsibilities were evident for the most part only within the university —more students, more courses, more professional schools, more advanced graduate study—but there was a growing interest in the general populace. As early as 1808 a Yale University professor presented popular lectures on science: in 1869 Harvard offered a series of lectures to the people of Cambridge; and from its opening in 1876, Johns Hopkins also offered a number of outside courses. The passage of the first Morrill Act in 1862, which created land-grant colleges to promote liberal and practical education and to encourage the study of agriculture and mechanic arts, was a giant step in the democratization of education.

With these developments the clergyman, who from his pulpit had been the chief agent of adult education, began to be replaced by the professor, who as the harbinger of scientific advances cleared the way for expanding curricula and the rise of the elective system.

Lyceum and Chatauqua: Training Ground for University Adult Educators

Outside the university arena the work of two men in particular planted seeds for the later flowering of adult education.

In 1824, Josiah Holbrook, a Connecticut farmer interested in "Natural Philosophy," got the idea of a meeting for cooperative study. He called his meeting a lyceum and set about spreading his notion throughout New England. The idea traveled further to the Middle States and to the South, exciting the imagination of scholars everywhere it went.

As the lyceum scheme expanded, it turned into a formal lecture circuit. After the Civil War it truly became a commercial enterprise. Ostensibly, its aim was to provide literary societies with the lecture services of men like Emerson, Thoreau, and Lowell; in fact, however, its target became increasingly the captivation of audiences with jubilee singers, magicians, and the programs of P. T. Barnum. The movement struggled "for large audiences, not to spread the gospel of education and progress, but to get net returns."[2]

A more significant endeavor was that of Rev. John H. Vincent, later a Methodist bishop, who, with Lewis Miller, started the Chautauqua institution in New York in 1874. An enthusiast of the Chautauqua circuit described it in the following terms:

> It is a great summer school, lasting from one week to six weeks, sometimes even longer, but usually about two weeks. It is usually

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[2] J. J. Pettijohn, "University Extension Lyceum Service," NUEA Proceedings (Madison, Wis., 1915), p. 227.

> located in a beautiful spot near a body of water, with quiet woody places all around. Along the shores of the lake are tents and cottages where live the regular patrons. Upon the hill is a summer hotel for transient visitors. All around are tennis courts and golf links. In the center is the great auditorium with its seating capacity for thousands. . . . Picture a community in a place like this, a community gathered with the common purpose of combining mental stimulation with physical recreation. They begin each day with religious worship. . . . They repair to their classrooms, their lecture halls, their studies for an hour of vigorous thinking. In the afternoon a crowd gathers at the auditorium to listen to a concert or play, and later to hear some great man or woman statesman, educator, clergyman, or reformer discuss a topic of the day.[3]

English Import

Lyceum and Chautauqua helped to make American universities more receptive to an idea being developed in England, ". . . [The] extension of university instruction in popular form by lecturers from the great university centers of Oxford and Cambridge throughout the great towns and manufacturing districts of England."[4] The scheme of "University Extension" had been the invention of the 1850 Oxford Commission. Cambridge University, too, was quick to take it up. The idea found its way into a few American educational journals, but it was the fervor of a handful of American scholars, notably Herbert Baxter Adams of Johns Hopkins, that made Extension sweep the breadth of the United States in the few years before and after 1890.

Americans and Englishmen traveled back and forth across the Atlantic to talk to each other about the English methods. During this time more than two hundred organizations started lecture series, correspondence instruction, and evening classes in nearly every state of the union. Harvard, Wisconsin, Chicago, California, Kansas, Rutgers, Columbia, Minnesota, and other universities implemented the English idea.

Through the promptings of the University of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching was founded. It soon changed its name to the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. The Society maintained close alliance with Oxford. In December, 1891, the Society sponsored at Philadelphia the first national conference on university extension.

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[3] Paul Voelker, "The University of Chautauqua," NUEA Proceedings (Madison, Wis., 1915), pp. 241-42.

[4] Herbert Baxter Adams, quoted in "Fifteen Lean Years—The Experiment of English University Extension in the United States," by J. M. R. Owens, Rewley House Papers, III, 5, 1956-57, Oxford, p. 13.

It was William Rainey Harper, the first President of the new University of Chicago, who gave extension a new dimension. Responsible for the design of the new university and convinced of the importance and permanency of University Extension, he incorporated extension as one of the five major divisions of the institution and gave it equal status with the "University Proper." Harper had been associated with Chautauqua, was experienced with correspondence instruction, and had examined and admired the extension program conducted by Cambridge. Imbued with the notion of university service, ". . . service not merely to the students within its walls, but also to the public, to mankind," Harper wanted to provide for the large numbers of people unable to attend regular classes on the campus, but whom he knew could nonetheless profit from the facilities of the university.[5]

President Harper wasted no time. The university opened on Saturday, October 1, 1892, and on Sunday, October 2, Harper gave the first public lecture. That same night the evening program began with a course on the literary study of the Bible. It is significant to note that the first class conducted at Chicago was an evening class.[6]

Harper's translation of English methods provided an extension program more suited to American needs at that time. He included "standard university and college courses lifted bodily from the regular curricula, credits and all."[7]

Nearly everywhere else extension's success was ephemeral. It was to muddle through the so-called "Fifteen Lean Years" until a "modern form of university extension" was conceived at the University of Wisconsin around 1906.[8]

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[5] Thomas W. Goodspeed, A History of the University of Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1916), p. 137.

[6] Ibid., p. 246.

[7] James Creese, quoted in Owens, op. cit., p. 14.

[8] Robert Peers, Adult Education: A Comparative Study (New York: Humanities Press, 1958), p. 269.

Explanations of the meteoric rise and fall of early extension efforts abound. Some skeptics argue that the efforts failed because American education generally is subject to facile enthusiasms, which are taken up with consuming eagerness and as quickly and casually abandoned. However legitimate the accusation is in some respects, there seems to be little doubt that the true explanation is somewhat more complex.

An analysis of why extension patterned after English models failed, even where adjusted somewhat to American needs, must take into account the failure of the early extension champions to profit from lessons learned from other adult education organizations such as the lyceum.

Criticism simply on the grounds of "newness" may be disregarded simply on the grounds of logic. This is not the case, however, with criticisms that point to the prevalence of second-rate offerings.

That so much of early extension education was second-rate is attributable in part to the failure to appreciate the importance of estimating and building public demand.

Faculty censure and popular dissatisfaction or lack of interest also contributed to the failure; they might have been alleviated in some measure by providing extension with a firmer financial base and with appropriate formal recognition by university presidents and boards of trustees and legislatures. The University of Chicago was spared these problems on the one hand through the munificence of Mr. Rockefeller, and on the other because President Harper made extension a fundamental part of the university.

Any explanation of the failure must also recognize the fact that the lecture-examination methods of Oxford were more appropriate to urban areas than to rural. In trying to make extension self-supporting in rural areas, it had to be made too varied and popular—thus "second-rate at second hand."[9]

English extension has been given considerable credit for its liberal content. It has been pointed out, however, that America had free public high schools, which England lacked. English liberal emphasis was, then, an attempt to fill this gap; American extension, presumably aiming at a higher level, would all the more be obliged to cope with the criticisms outlined above.

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[9] Charles R. Van Hise, "The University Function in the Modern University," NUEA Proceedings (Madison, Wis., 1915), p. 14.

In making such a literal transference of the English extension system to the American scene, its American adaptors failed to recognize the realities of the open class structure in the United States. As Schwertman points out: "In this country the motivation for adult education is essentially economic, whereas in Europe it has been political and ideological. For example, in Scandinavia adult education has been identified as a folk movement for the elevation of an entire social class."[10] The same could be said of English extension. In America, however, adult education has always been identified with individual opportunity to move upward out of one's social class. The soil for the planting of the extension movement in America was prepared by previous efforts in adult education, by the cardinal position of education in American life, and by the social conditions of the times. Because of the disparity between the English and American educational systems, it was necessary to organize extension in harmony with the American educational scene. This was not done by the founders of the early American extension movement. (The University of Wisconsin was later to understand this American phenomena, at least implicitly, and was to adapt extension to the realities of an open class structure.)

Foundations of Modern Extension: 1906-1915

Urbanization had a tremendous impact on the character of the restoration and the continuing development of adult education. Hofstadter describing "the Urban Scene" writes thus: "From 1860 to 1910, towns and cities sprouted up with miraculous rapidity all over the United States. Large cities grew into great metropolises, small towns grew into large cities, and new towns sprang into existence on vacant land."[11] The great numbers quitting the farms and the influx of immigrants coupled to produce this tremendous growth of the cities. "The city with its immense need for new facilities in transportation, sanitation, policing, light, gas, and public structures, offered a magnificent internal market for American business."[12] Further it offered the lure of employment to the American rural populace and to the incoming Europeans.

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[10] John B. Schwertman, The Enrollment Bulge: Some Implications for University Adult Education (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1955), p. 1.

[11] Richard Hofstadter, Age of Reform (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), p. 173.

These new Americans, plus Americans new-to-the-city, became the American dilemma: the strain and push of the new versus the old, or as Hofstadter says further:

> One senses again and again in the best Progressive literature on immigration that the old nativist Mugwump prejudice is being held in check by a strenuous effort of mind and will, that the decent Anglo-Saxon liberals were forever reminding themselves of their own humane values, of the courage of the immigrant, the reality of his hardships, the poignancy of his deracination, the cultural achievements of his homeland, his ultimate potentialities as an American, and, above all, of the fact that the bulk of the hard and dirty work of American industry and urban life was his.[13]

The businessmen and the social workers were able to unify their conflicting views of the immigrant in their determination to prevent the dissemination of his foreign, and radical, ideologies. Americanization was urgent.

From the limited amount of information available we can see the greater stress on liberal education during the early days of extension. Extension emerged in an agrarian context where rural values predominated. The agrarian notion of the successful person was the well-rounded man. This meant the gentleman appreciative of the liberal values. After 1876, however, America began to industrialize more rapidly. This industrialization, with its attendant shift in values, was accomplished by the early part of the twentieth century. As Whipple points out:

> The transformation involved more than the economic organization of American society. Political, social and intellectual institutions and attitudes were revolutionized. The agrarian way of life had been relatively simple. Small communities and the wide open spaces made for fewer complications, and encouraged the growth of a progressive European heritage which emphasized freedom of

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[12] Ibid., p. 173.

[13] Ibid., p. 180.

> thought and action, rugged individualism and laissez faire. Somewhat less progressive was the inheritance of a vigorous, and often Calvinistic Protestantism. Frequently harsh, intolerant, and excessively preoccupied with the supernatural, it was nevertheless adequate for rural America. Obviously, much more than economics determined the composition of this agrarian mind. The small community influenced attitudes regarding social intercourse, or it limited and defined intellectual preoccupations. All this was changed by urban industrialization—obligations, human relationships, and opportunities were altered.[14]

The shift in values that accompanied the rapid industrialization and urbanization built up a new image of the successful man. Acceptance by society was now judged in terms of success in a mercantile world. Adult schools sprang up after the turn of the century to enable individuals living within cities to fulfill their vocational and professional goals. The loss of the image of the well-rounded man, which was so favorable to liberal education, considerably dampened interest and involvement of adult students in any kind of liberal education.

The Reluctant University

It was the focus on the immigrant problem which triggered the renascence of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin. Wisconsin had had earlier experience with off-campus activities through its Farmers' Institutes. It had adopted English Extension in 1888, but by 1906 these offerings amounted to little more than a couple of pages in the catalogue.

Dr. Charles McCarthy (an aid to the head of the Wisconsin Free Library Commission) looms large in the restoration of General Extension. He was convinced that a "tax-supported job-training program"[15] would benefit Wisconsin workers and employers alike. He was further convinced that the university was the agency to provide this service. McCarthy was anxious, as were the Wisconsin manufacturers, "to discourage labor's interest in socialism, even as the partially state-financed rural prosperity had rendered rural areas resistant to radical philosophies."[16] His model was Germany with its "interrelationship of the universities, government, and industry."[17]

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[14] James B. Whipple, "Cleveland in Conflict: A Study in Urban Adolescence, 1876-1900" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, History Department, Western Reserve University, 1951), p. iv.

[15] Frederick M. Rosentreter, The Boundaries of the Campus: A History of the University of Wisconsin Extension Division, 1885-1945 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957).

As further encouragement to McCarthy, the University, and particularly President Van Hise, were impressed by Governor LaFollette's eagerness for the University to serve the State.

McCarthy marshalled his forces and "in 1905, using as a lever Van Hise's casually uttered words about the field and scope of the university, he forced upon the president and the faculty the question of reviving extension."[18]

McCarthy's pressure on the university administration, coupled with the Milwaukee Merchants and Manufacturers Association pressure on the legislature, produced a refurbished extension division backed by state financial aid. The object was a factory on-the-job-training program. "Together with manual skills, conservative ideologies were to be imparted. Once the Wisconsin Dairymen's Association had helped force the University—hence the state—to take over the program the Association had inaugurated; now the industrialists were similarly engaged."[19]

Once extension secured this financial and organizational foothold, with continuing and powerful support, it was able to demonstrate "its determination to make the boundaries of the university campus co-terminous with the boundaries of the State."[20] As needs changed, extension's cultivated flexibility insured the division's survival.

The Movement Expands

The Wisconsin experiment flourished and its example became a model to be studied if not always emulated. In any case, a revitalization of extension throughout the United States commenced.

There was also an expansion of extension work in the endowed universities. President Lowell's report for 1909-10 announced a permanent commission on extension courses represented by Harvard, Boston University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Tufts, Wellesley, Simmons, and the Museum of Fine Arts. Harvard, Radcliffe, Tufts, and Wellesley created an Associate in Arts degree requiring the same number and kind of courses as a BA. There were no entrance requirements. The first degrees were awarded in 1912-13.

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[16] Ibid., p. 46.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., p. 48.

[19] Ibid., p. 51.

[20] Peers, op. cit., p. 259.

Columbia carried on extension work under the Trustees of Teachers College, but in 1910-11 the university took full charge of the program including financial responsibility, and put a director in charge. Extension included intra- and extra-mural courses and was considered "an experiment station of educational ventures."[21]

Brown, Tulane, Pittsburgh, and Northwestern were other endowed schools with extension programs.

In 1914 thirty state universities had organized extension divisions with a permanent director or committee. Twenty-five or more independent agricultural and mechanical arts schools were doing extension work.

Extension began to assume a kind of regional coloration. In the eastern states there were no state universities as in the West and the South. Aside from the work being done by private schools like Columbia, Harvard, Clark, and Pittsburgh, significant extension work was done by the state departments of education. In general, the private schools were offering miscellaneous evening courses or occasional lectures. Those with more formal set-ups concentrated on teachers or on a business audience.

Extension work in the Southwest, as represented by the University of Texas, provided standard correspondence instruction and extension teaching. The University did a large part of its extension work through high schools throughout the state.

In the Southeast, as well, work through the high schools was emphasized. The University of North Carolina, an extension pioneer in the

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21. C. B. Robertson, "Types of University Extension Development & Presentday Tendencies in the Eastern States," NUEA Proceedings (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1917), p. 74.

South, developed its extension program through departments rather than through a separate division. Specifically, extension was an adjunct of the package library service of the University. Correspondence work was not initiated because of insufficient demand. "The people in North Carolina had to be convinced that the people who went to the University were not only the fine old ante-bellum fellows, but that the institution works for the everyday people."[22]

By 1915 every state west of the Rocky Mountains had a state university and every one had an established extension division. In fact, they boasted a Department or Division made up of bureaus of instruction and bureaus of public service.

First NUEA Conference: An Occasion for Appraisal

Reflecting the growth of extension and its universal acceptance, an extension association—the National University Extension Association—was formed and held its first conference in 1915, with a membership of 22 colleges and universities. The group met at the University of Wisconsin, in tribute to the role of this university in the extension movement.

At the time of its first meeting the breadth of activities encompassed by extension service was formidable. Defining extension's function and scope, Louis Reber, Dean of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin, commented that:

> A very broad and general classification defines the scope of university extension under three main divisions: (1) including all measures for the benefit of a nonresident body, (2) consisting of aid to the state through utilization of the equipment of trained men and educational facilities belonging to a university, and (3) certain activities carried on at the institution.[23]

Under benefits for the non-resident body were included correspondence, field classes, educational materials, and exhibits. Aid to the state made available research information and applications to state governments. The last classification included short-term courses, lectures, and evening classes.

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[22] Louis R. Wilson, "Extension Work in the Southeast," NUEA Proceedings (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1917, 1922), p. 80.

[23] Louis E. Reber, "The Scope Of University Extension & Its Organization and Subdivision," NUEA Proceedings (Madison, Wis., 1915), p. 29.

Systematic off-campus instruction provided by university staff was in vogue at the Universities of Chicago, Wisconsin, and Columbia. Such "regular class" extension was viewed as the most satisfactory kind of university extension but was, of course, dependent upon adequate library facilities.

The Philosophy of Extension in 1915

By 1915 most state universities had accepted extension as a third function added to the traditional ones of teaching and research. What might be called a philosophy of extension had been formulated to justify the extension of educational resources of the state out over a wide geographic area and in formats not dictated by classroom considerations. The theme of service was reiterated again and again in statements of the objectives of extension.

One of the university extension's crusaders, Richard Moulton, looking hard at the human career saw extension as "the third of three revolutions in society which together constitute the transition from medieval to modern." First the Reformation, then the political revolutions enlarged popular vision and participation. Finally, "by the extension movement, instead of a favored few the whole body of the people came to claim their share of culture and the higher education."[24]

According to another spokesman, "the primary function of extension work through public service is an unselfish one—a real desire on the part of educators and educational institutions to spend themselves and be spent for public welfare."[25]

Van Hise offered the justification for large-scale university participation in social welfare work:

> It may be suggested at this point that, while this idea of service cannot be gainsaid, it is not a function of the university but rather of some other instrumentality. If it is meant by this that it has not been the function of the traditional university, to this dissent cannot be made. But it seems to me that whether it is the function of

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[24] Richard Moulton, "The Humanities in University Extension," NUEA Proceedings (Madison, Wis., 1915), p. 255.

[25] William D. Henderson, "General Education through Extension," NUEA Proceedings (Madison, Wis., 1915), p. 41.

> the university should be decided by the simple criterion as to whether the university is the best fitted instrument to do this work. If it is, it should do the work without reference to any person's preconceptions as to the scope of a university.[26]

From its very beginnings NUEA set forth the purpose of university extension: ". . . to carry light and opportunity to every human being in all parts of the nation; this is the only adequate ideal of service for the university."[27]

At the same time there were warnings. Extension should not overstep, trying to supercede or replace the work of other legitimate educational institutions, such as the high schools, or the foundations, such as the Lowell Institute in Boston and the Cooper Institute in New York. It should also recognize the enterprise of the various literary and scientific circles.

Some suggested that extension cut itself off from the university family, but this idea was quickly dismissed by reaffirmation of the need for high standards that university affiliation compelled. The temptation to present lectures of a quality that would be unacceptable to the university was considered a particular danger.

The NUEA conferees were aware that extension was frequently directed toward recruitment of resident students for the university. Although this approach was considered to have its limited validity, it was decried as a sole motivation.

Who composed the extension audience considered by these philosophers? Farmers; working men who wanted to become foreman; working men who wanted to become managers; school teachers; white collar workers; engineers; state civil servants; women; immigrants: all those moving out and upward in the American class fabric.

This period also saw a tremendous growth of organizations in American life. Many of them sought, or were sought out by, extension. Extension directed its efforts, too, to the professionals and public leaders:

> These . . . professional people need to read, hear, study, and think

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26. Van Hise, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

27. Ibid., p. 24.

> upon the means of social welfare, not alone with respect to their own particular callings, but also comprehensively with respect to the social situation as a whole. . . . The goal of our highest thought and effort in university extension will be to work toward that perfected humanity in which the wellbeing of each individual in organic relations with all others will be achieved.[28]

A delegate reported at this first NUEA session, and with justifiable pride, that "we have made nitrogen, phosphoric acid, potash, protein, carbohydrates, nitrates, and other similar terms, as the orator would say, household words."[29]

But what about liberal adult education?

After the general shift in values around 1900, extension increasingly applied itself to "needs," which meant "vocational" requirements. The cultural stuff could come later. Humanities spokesmen were not without a hearing, however.

Richard Moulton, borrowed from England by the University of Chicago, was able to claim over forty years of uninterrupted extension work in 1915, all of this in the humanities. For him "extension" meant that education must be offered to every man, must extend to the whole period of life, and must extend to "all the vital interests of life." He preached that "the humanities have a firm footing in the work of universities; they must be maintained with equal firmness in extension work."[30]

The Emergence of the Evening College: 1915-1951

Historically, the term "extension" was borrowed from England and came to be applied to all the educational activities outside the traditional scope of the university. The term enveloped the already existing activities such as farmers' meetings and lecture series; it was expanded to encompass the growing number of correspondence programs, lyceum series, miscellaneous entertainments; later it was further expanded to cover vocational and welfare work. In the eyes of its critics (who were not necessarily unsympathetic), extension developed into the university's organizational dumping ground.

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[28] Clyde W. Votaw, "University Extension Service in Its Relation to Local, Intellectual and Spiritual Leadership," NUEA Proceedings (Madison, Wis., 1915), p. 184.

[29] J. H. Miller, "Agricultural Education in Extension," NUEA Proceedings (Madison, Wis., 1915), p. 55.

[30] Moulton, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

The applications of the word "extension" were myriad. To some it meant circuiting lecturers; to correspondence instructors, it involved the U.S. mails; to the humanist it meant life-long learning and suitable employment of leisure; to the pragmatic, it was coterminous with skills or promotion; to the thoughtful extension faculty, it was the imposition of university standards compelled by university association; to the settlement worker, it was Americanization.

As state universities came to dominate general extension and the growth of the cities encouraged increased dependence on evening classes in the private, and particularly the urban, universities, extension tended to bifurcate. One branch was defined by its concern for spatial expansion (embodied in the notion "the state is our campus"). The other branch was characterized by concern for time expansion ("the busiest nightspot in town"). By usage the term "extension" came to be confined to the activities of the former. The evening phase of extension, meanwhile, was assuming significant proportions; thus we distinguish "extension schools" and "evening schools."

Extension in Urban Areas

Evening study had been a significant part of the adult education program at many institutions in the nineteenth century. The Drexel Institute of Technology in Philadelphia, dedicated to vocational studies, and the University of Chicago, dedicated to liberal studies, were both started in the 1890's; both sponsored evening classes. In 1904 Denver University was offering liberal arts courses for credit and non-credit. Gradually, in response to the pressures of urbanization, some of the urban schools (including such extension pioneers as Johns Hopkins and Chicago) tended more and more to withdraw from extramural services and to devote their efforts to a buildup of their evening programs. The growth of the cities also introduced increasing numbers of urban institutions and the development of new municipal universities: it was no longer necessary to range the state setting up classes; now there was a vast audience at hand pressing to attend school at night and on Saturdays, creating divisions devoted exclusively to evening programs.

Dyer relates the growth of evening colleges to more general developments.[31] First, intellectual life was becoming more specialized and professionalized. The older apprenticeship system for training professional men was giving way to the professional school. Industry and commerce were expanding greatly and were demanding the technical assistance of experts in engineering, science, sales, and administration. Business was willing to pay for this assistance and university endowments increased greatly. Second, during the half-century between 1875 and 1925 there were a number of attempts to take knowledge to the man in the street. This was not a new development. It has always been a rather unique characteristic of American educational philosophy that education is for everyone; that its universality is essential to the success of a democratic society; that it can bridge all gaps by fostering social mobility. The increased financial and moral support and the renewed emphasis on democratizing educational opportunity were influential in the development of two types of academic institution: university extension service and the municipal university. (The municipal university appeared on the scene in the latter part of the nineteenth century.) The curricula and programs of these institutions were geared to meet specific local needs; their presidents were committed to bringing university education to all the people. But because of rapid urbanization, it was no longer necessary or even desirable to go outside the city to establish extension classes. Universities began to establish evening divisions to meet the demand for educational facilities at a convenient time and place.

Today, extension remains largely a rural and small-town affair whereas evening education is an urban phenomenon.

In the same year that the NUEA held its first conference (1915), the Association of Urban Universities was organized. More and more the delegates to the Association of Urban Universities annual meetings tended to be evening deans of the member schools. The Association served as a forum for evening colleges whose services were not complex enough to qualify them for admission to the National University Extension Association. Gradually, the evening deans began to dominate the Association of Urban Universities meetings, confounding those who wanted to abide by the original reason for the association; that is, consideration of the total urban university. When the Association of Urban Universities insisted that university presidents, not evening deans, be delegated to attend their conferences, the deans were inspired to create their own organization in 1939. The multiple problems of mushroom growth and the administrative intricacies, frequently without precedent, were sufficient cause to found the Association of University Evening Colleges.

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[31] John Dyer, Ivory Towers in the Marketplace (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill, 1956), pp. 32-33.

The War

The Second World War and, to a lesser extent, the Korean War have had a hand in shaping university adult education. Many adult divisions expanded phenomenally with the flood of GI's from 1945 to 1952. One in every five of the 10,000,000 war veterans employing university services during that period, did so through extension or evening colleges.

Post-war GI enrollments were not the only agents of change. Government and industrial contracts and military bases played a part. In some instances, industries gave money directly to evening or extension divisions to set up specified classes. (One dean observed, "That ended but Extension has gone right on growing.") Special offerings for nearby military bases have become a significant part of adult programs in a number of schools.

The Philosophy of the Evening College

The evening college has not yet developed a philosophy to justify its activities. The transformation of the urban university was a "silent revolution." Suddenly thousands of adult students appeared on the scene and kept returning each term until in many instances they outnumbered the day students. It proved difficult to build a set of objectives for this "new" part of the university that was doing the same things as the undergraduate sections. Essentially, what the evening college has said is, "Come to us and we will provide the learning experiences that you need and want at a time and in a manner in which you want them." The two points in this statement around which some framework of meaning can be built are the time the service is offered and the subjects that are offered.

Only a very limited set of objectives can be built around the time of day education is offered—"evenings and Saturdays." A more fruitful starting place is the subjects offered and their organization. This has not yet been done. One way to begin is for university adult educators to develop a dialogue with the undergraduate organization, which focuses on an adolescent clientele. This adolescent clientele shapes to a certain extent the curriculum offered, and historically time served (120 credit hours) becomes the ultimate criterion of the educated person. Some attempts have been made to open up the discussion and point some directions in building a philosophy.[32] The problem is to draw the undergraduate divisions or their representative into the conversation. The position usually taken is that the traditional organization of the subject matter is dictated by the nature of the subject matter itself and not by the ability of the clientele to absorb it. (Would that curricula were that rationally and logically structured!) A serious conversation within the university about the nature of adulthood and adolescence and about how the educational program should, and in fact does, take this into account can only have a generally salutary effect on the whole university program—undergraduate and adult alike.

While General Extension is, to some extent, the manifestation of an ideology, the Evening College can be viewed as a response to public demand. Each represents an answer to educational needs. Whereas extension, through the voice of a handful of scholars, articulated the idea of the university's role in coping with the needs of an expanding society, the evening college reflects the urban university's response to community pressures.

Establishment of the Center

Within the Association of University Evening Colleges, several committees were set up to deal with specific problems in the evening college milieu. Among them was the Committee of Liberal Education. This committee submitted a proposal to the Fund for Adult Education in 1950. The proposal was for a two-year grant to establish a research center. The Committee believed that four important unsatisfied needs limited the growth of evening college programs of liberal education for adults.

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[32] Most of the publications of the CSLEA tend in this direction. The most ambitious attempt so far has been Whipple's Especially for Adults.

First was the need for developing sound and meaningful curricula for the liberal education of adults on community-wide bases. Second was the need for the greater use of the "discussion method." Third, few evening colleges had fully explored the possibility of reaching the optimum number of adult students through community-wide discussion programs. Lastly, because of the financial risks involved, few evening colleges had undertaken large-scale experimental programs of liberal education for adults.

It was suggested that a Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults would greatly minimize these deterrents. Three years after the Center's founding, John Schwertman stated in his interim report: "we might then summarize the situation at the time of the Center's founding. . . . The adult education movement was growing; while not anti-liberal, it was largely non-liberal in nature. . . ." Projects in curriculum development started during the first year of the Center's existence were most directly related to the original proposal. Courses were developed specifically for an adult clientele and were used at a number of evening colleges. The preoccupation with the problem of good curricula for the liberal education of adults shaped part of the Center's activity. Modest grants were given to a small number of institutions to experiment with special adult liberal education programs. The concern with discussion method in the original proposal was reflected in the Center's incorporation of discussion techniques in its courses and in its emphasis on discussion in Center publications. The deterrent relating to community organizations and the problems and possibilities involved led the Center to develop a number of projects to help clarify the relationship of the university to the community of which it is a part, so that an increasing portion of the community might be involved in liberal adult education. The inhibiting factor of financing stressed by the original proposal was not dealt with directly by the work of the Center. Rather, the Center's concern for "what kind of liberal education and for what purpose" has revealed some prior questions. Until these prior questions are answered, and the answers are implemented by actual curricula, the financial problem cannot be tackled.

At the time of the Center's founding there were ninety members of the Association of University Evening Colleges that reported a total of

290,000 students.[33] The case study of nine institutions conducted by the Center in the second year of its operation emphasized the dearth of liberal education programs for adults. Professional and vocational degree programs were the rule because the students wanted them.

Several years after its establishment CSLEA expanded its area of concern to state extension divisions as well as urban evening colleges. In 1956 the National University Extension Association made an official request to the Fund for Adult Education for cooperation and liaison with the Center on the same terms as those enjoyed by the Association of University Evening Colleges. This request was welcomed by the Center: the request jibed with the Center's goal of including as its eventual clientele all institutions of higher learning interested in liberal education for adults.

What has been the impact of the Center? It is too early to make any firm generalizations. An attempt has been made by Center staff members to assess the results of the last five years of Center activity.[34] One thing that can be noted is the side effects of the existence of an organization like the Center specifically concerned with university-level liberal adult education. The interest of an outside foundation-sponsored agency in university adult education has served to draw attention of educators to it, help legitimize it, and give it some prestige.

Scores of adult deans and directors have been involved in liberal education activities under the aegis of the Center. Research projects in university adult education have been sponsored and have provided a firm basis for future activity in the field. Increased attention has been paid by adult deans and directors to liberal education in their professional meetings and official conversations as a result of foundation-sponsored interest. Demonstration programs in liberal education have been set up and their repetition encouraged in diverse settings. A Clearinghouse of information and research has been set up under the Center and has systematically gathered all the information available on liberal adult education and pinpointed specific areas for research. The

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[33] Association of University Evening Colleges, Proceedings (Atlanta, Ga., 1952), p. 23.

[34] Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Impact Study (Chicago: CSLEA, 1958), mimeo.

Center's activities have been in the area of conferences and workshops for adult deans and directors, faculty, and other university personnel; field work and consultation; small grants and subsidies for specific projects; development of a series of publications that add to the growing literature in the field; demonstration and model-program building; and actual conduct of theoretical and practical research.

Models and Patterns of Growth

As General Extension expanded throughout the United States, the newer divisions generally looked to regional leaders, where special regional developments seemed to be prominent, with a weather eye upon the progress of the University of Wisconsin.

Many of the private urban schools initially developed the broad areas of extension enterprise. Although they tended gradually to emphasize their evening programs, the newer evening colleges saw these older schools in an extension context. These newer schools referred to their parent institutions in an "attempt to achieve respectability through academic orthodoxy"[35] and to the more successful urban universities (such as the University of Cincinnati) for operational ideas.

The keynote in a study of extension division growth is flexibility.

The work of the division usually started with one or more of the following activities: correspondence instruction, lecture series, resident evening classes, or classes at distant centers (usually at local high schools). These offerings were in a kind of equilibrium according to the demands of the area or the period: requests for correspondence courses increased or subsided with changing communities; new industry with new needs arose; requirements were altered; centers rose and fell; lecture series became popular and then the audience lost interest.

However, once the divisions got a foothold, shrewd administration, sensitive to changing needs, manipulated extension's areas of service, thus insuring survival and, wherever possible, expansion.

Gradually (and this is especially true in state schools), it has become a generally accepted principle (accepted in annual reports, if not in the hearts of all the faculty) that extension should take its place with

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35. Dyer, op. cit., p. 37.

teaching and research as one of the three major responsibilities of university education.

A generalized summary of the history of the growth of the evening schools reveals that they have developed along similar organizational lines. Usually they have not actively gone out into the community and sought their students; rather, the students have more frequently come to them with plans in mind. Consequently, evening colleges have often started as remedial institutions for late starters or as annexes to handle enrollment bulges in post-war eras. Meeting the needs of these students inevitably meant a degree program of a professional or upgrading nature, and in their early stages most evening schools have merely offered day-time courses at night.

The beginnings of evening schools have been less consistent than their development, once launched. Their origin might represent the crusade of one man, or the expansion of one department and the resultant concentration in that field, or perhaps the efforts of a faculty committee. Education and Business Administration have often been the early loci of activity. In some instances a flourishing evening program has resulted in the creation of a new school or college in the university, notably in Business Administration. Meanwhile, other departments within the university have expanded into evening work on their own.

The next step has been the consolidation of evening activities into a department or division, even though its only function is a housekeeping one under residence supervision. Finally, and in contemporary terms, the evening program has been organized as a school or college, more or less autonomous, with varying kinds of relationships with the day departments for sharing faculty, facilities, and buildings. The program at some of these schools is of such a character and calibre that they are now empowered to grant their own degrees. At one university there are two schools of liberal arts—one day and one evening.

The kind of program that has evolved in extension and evening divisions, programs that reflect sensitivity to the various publics that are the special audience of adult education, is another area of crucial significance to an understanding of today's picture of liberal adult schooling.

Keeping in mind the sporadic and shaky steps that add up to the history of liberal adult education, an examination of the content of adult programming should do more than merely describe its history; it should also attempt to project future trends in this vital field.

THE PRESENT PICTURE IN LIBERAL ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAMMING

Introduction

A normative analysis of liberal adult education must grapple with the "ought"—with the desirable state of affairs toward which university adult education should be moving. Some of the conditions that seem particularly propitious for the development of effective liberal education experiences for adults were noted in Section I. Some courses of action will be recommended in Section III that might tend to bring the realm of the "ought" into the domain of the "possible."

It is clear that what an institution desires to become is inexorably linked to what it has been and what it is: both the past and the present operate as powerful forces and limitations affecting the future. In the previous chapter the struggle and conflict that characterized the evolving history of liberal adult education was briefly described. This chapter will discuss the culmination of that struggle—the concrete programs that are offered today by the various colleges and universities included in the study.

Quite apart from the need for descriptions of the present status of adult liberal education to serve as guides in planning for the future, a careful statement can serve other important functions. A complete picture of present offerings can serve as a benchmark for future studies. The data can contribute to the development of an institutional memory that may be drawn upon by future leaders and policy makers. Thus, the state of the field at some future date can be compared to this present picture both to assess evolution and progress and to aid in the evaluation of present plans that are intended to stimulate progress.

The Statistical Approach[1]

The investigators' initial effort to gain some understanding of the present state of liberal adult education involved the collection of statistics. There were three possible sources for adult education statistics: the Association of University Evening Colleges, the National University Extension Association, and the United States Office of Education. It was soon discovered that the condition of statistics in the field was one of general confusion.

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[1] In all that follows concerning statistics the investigators are in-

Both evening colleges and extension divisions have been concerned for years with the difficult question of how to report adult education activities so that each institution might have a reasonable basis for comparing itself with others, as well as having an accurate picture of the field nationally. But there are perplexing problems of classification which the two associations have not yet solved. How can one compare the highly diverse activities of urban evening colleges and state extension divisions? Can a single non-credit concert be compared in any meaningful sense with a credit course in physics? The situation is further confused by the overlap of institutions belonging to both associations.

Nor were the statistics gathered by the U.S. Office of Education any more helpful. U.S. Office of Education Circular 493, Resident and Extension Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Education (November, 1955) made a promising start toward reporting the continuing education enterprises of all colleges and universities in the country. But the categories under which its data were compiled were confusing and incomplete. Part-time enrollment was not distinguished from full-time enrollment; no attempt was made to distinguish between non-credit programs of different intensity.

Since available statistics were so confused, the investigators developed an instrument which they felt would provide more systematic and comprehensive statistical data concerning the activities of evening colleges and extension divisions, data that could be used comparatively. A standardized form was worked out and pretested. Then it was sent to all of the institutions in the study in conjunction with a questionnaire. This initial experiment concentrated on credit-course information. It

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debted to Dr. James Harrison of Michigan State University. He has been the driving force behind the statistical reform attempted here. He has generously given of his time, talent, and effort in this undertaking.

was felt, and with reason, that if a Statistical Supplement were too long or too complex respondents would be overwhelmed and might even decline to fill out the questionnaire.

A Caveat

The experiment with the new reporting system was less than completely successful. First of all, the response to the request for statistics was about 12% less than the response received for the questionnaire. This, however, is only the beginning of the problem. A very large percentage of returned questionnaires were not filled out properly. Many were submitted with blank responses, checks instead of numbers in the boxes, and cross-outs. Many deans and directors found the reporting form extremely complex and difficult to fill out. These difficulties are in large part attributable to the fact that data was frequently not kept in such a way that it could easily be translated into the new categories. (The more complex and well-organized divisions had the most difficulty since they had evolved their own methods of counting.) None of these problems seem insuperable from the point of view of future experiments with the new system; but in terms of making significant generalizations about the state of the field, the value of the statistics is limited.

The Program

Tables 1, 2, and 3 deal with program offerings.[2] Table 1 is a composite of 2 and 3 and summarizes the total program for both extension divisions and evening colleges. The three charts taken together reflect common notions concerning the division of effort in the evening and extension divisions. In both divisions, the credit emphasis is heavily undergraduate. There are, however, proportionally more graduate credit offerings in the extension divisions than in the evening colleges, even though both divisions seem to offer about the same number of noncredit courses. However, correspondence work, conferences, and institutes are used almost exclusively by the state extension divisions. (Response to the question on television and radio instruction was low.

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[2] See the Statistics section of Appendix I for definitions of the terms used in the tables and for a discussion of the response percentages upon which the tables are based.

TABLE 1

TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRAMS IN EVENING COLLEGES AND EXTENSION DIVISIONS

Level	Course	Institute	Tutorial	Correspondence	TV-Radio
Residence Credit Only					
Graduate	2,178	11	57	1	-
Undergraduate	9,962	25	18	968	3
Other	33	12	-	8	1
Total	12,173	48	75	977	4
Extension Credit Only					
Graduate	1,272	-	-	66	-
Undergraduate	4,050	2	60	4,596	14
Other	137	-	-	1,403	1
Total	5,459	2	60	6,065	15
All Noncredit					
Only "extended" noncredit offerings included	4,782	1,042	30	363	18
Total	22,414	1,092	165	7,405	37

This may be explained by the fact that many schools offer such courses outside of the domains of the evening and extension deans.)

Enrollments

Tables 4, 5, and 6 present enrollment statistics.[3] Once again the first chart is a composite of the second and third.

These tables substantiate the division of effort between the evening and extension divisions presented in the previous set of charts. Conferences, institutes, and correspondence work are almost exclusively extension division forms. Table 6 reveals a very high number of credit enrollees in correspondence courses listed in the "other" category.

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[3] See the Enrollment Response section of Appendix I.

TABLE 2

TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRAMS IN EVENING COLLEGES

Level	Course	Institute	Tutorial	Correspondence	TV-Radio
Residence Credit Only					
Graduate	1,492	2	52	1	-
Undergraduate	8,403	2	4	47	3
Other	33	-	-	-	-
Total	9,928	4	56	48	3
Extension Credit Only					
Graduate	32	-	-	44	-
Undergraduate	132	-	-	198	-
Other	-	-	-	-	-
Total	164	-	-	242	-
All Noncredit					
Only "extended" noncredit offerings included	2,048	150	23	1	-
Total	12,140	154	79	291	3

The "other" category undoubtedly includes a very large number of high school correspondence programs, which many state extension divisions operate. This kind of statistic produces the image of the vast and diversified potpourri of offerings that is the extension division.

Field of Study

Tables 7, 8, and 9 take the enrollment figures listed above and break them down by field of study in the credit area only.[4] From the point of view of this study, this set of tables was expected to be the most useful.

All three tables suggest an extremely high percentage of liberal arts in all categories. The percentages are somewhat higher than pre-

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[4] See the Response by Field of Study section of Appendix I.

TABLE 3

TOTAL NUMBER OF PROGRAMS IN EXTENSION DIVISIONS

Level	Course	Institute	Tutorial	Correspondence	TV-Radio
Residence Credit Only					
Graduate	686	9	5	-	-
Undergraduate	1,559	23	14	921	-
Other	-	12	-	8	1
Total	2,245	44	19	929	1
Extension Credit Only					
Graduate	1,240	-	-	22	-
Undergraduate	3,918	2	60	4,398	14
Other	137	-	-	1,403	1
Total	5,295	2	60	5,823	15
All Noncredit					
	2,734	892	7	362	18
Total	10,274	938	86	7,114	34

vious experience with the field indicated. In the evening colleges, for example, forty-five per cent of all credit courses offered are in the liberal arts. The percentage in the extension divisions was even higher (51%). In fact, for almost every category in the total sample (Table 7), the percentage of liberal arts offerings ranged between 45 and 55 per cent.

The reader must be reminded that the definition of liberal arts used in this part of the study is an extremely broad and all-encompassing one which goes far beyond what the investigators would customarily consider "liberal education." Further, this initial experiment did not attempt to gather data on the field breakdown of the non-credit courses.

Perhaps these statistics can be put into proper focus by referring to the rather comprehensive program information that the researchers collected at the eighteen schools to which personal field visits were made. In all of these 18 schools, the interview data suggest that non-

TABLE 4

TOTAL ENROLLMENTS IN EVENING COLLEGES AND EXTENSION DIVISIONS

Level	Course	Institute	Tutorial	Corre-spondence	TV-Radio
Residence Credit Only					
Graduate	43,181	466	765	90	-
Undergraduate	331,082	475	146	1,538	95
Other	3,793	108	-	126	157
Total	378,056	1,049	911	1,754	252
Extension Credit Only					
Graduate	19,186	-	-	3,831	31
Undergraduate	106,154	81	60	43,898	216
Other	5,642	-	-	18,539	22
Total	130,982	81	60	66,268	269
All Noncredit					
	129,823	127,362	3,283	8,650	1,337
Total	638,861	128,492	4,254	76,670	1,858

credit liberal arts offerings do not exceed 20 per cent of the total noncredit program. Certainly, most of this could be classified as "liberal education" in accord with the investigators' main interest. However, the material from the 18 schools suggests that virtually all of the liberal arts courses offered were part of the normal credit program. This day-school-in-the-evening orientation is a far cry from the programs that are designed especially to meet the needs of the adult clientele.

In short, there is in fact a rather high percentage of liberal arts credit work offered in the evening and extension divisions, but the number of programs that have been modified for the special adult audience is miniscule.

Probably the most important outcome of the investigators' adventure in statistics have been to point up once again the vast complexity of the field and to re-emphasize the need for better reporting systems. A great deal was learned about these problems, thanks to the defini-

TABLE 5

TOTAL ENROLLMENTS IN EVENING COLLEGES

Level	Course	Institute	Tutorial	Corre-spondence	TV-Radio
Residence Credit Only					
Graduate	33,310	60	765	90	-
Undergraduate	286,079	13	136	602	95
Other	3,543	-	-	-	50
Total	322,932	73	901	692	145
Extension Credit Only					
Graduate	1,893	-	-	44	-
Undergraduate	12,464	-	-	198	-
Other	75	-	-	-	-
Total	14,432	-	-	242	-
All Noncredit					
	46,522	8,674	432	120	-
Total	383,886	8,747	1,333	1,054	145

tions and categories used. Future efforts in the field may well profit from this initial venture.

Despite admitted difficulties, it is possible to use the findings to estimate the yearly total of people who are enrolled in liberal adult education programs in colleges and universities throughout the United States. The United States Office of Education recently has estimated that from a population of 8,270,000 adults engaged in educational programs, some 996,000 attended at least an adult education class or group meeting at the university level three or more times during the year.[5] Such data can be used to deduce the number of adults in the liberal arts. Thus, Table 4, which provides the total enrollment for the

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[5] U.S. Office of Education, Participation in Adult Education, based on the October, 1957, Current Population Survey, Bureau of the Census, Circular No. 539, p. 3, adults attending adult education classes or group meetings; p. 34, college or university estimates.

TABLE 6

TOTAL ENROLLMENTS IN EXTENSION DIVISIONS

Level	Course	Institute	Tutorial	Corre-spondence	TV-Radio
Residence Credit Only					
Graduate	9,871	406	-	-	-
Undergraduate	45,003	462	10	936	-
Other	250	108	-	126	107
Total	55,124	976	10	1,062	107
Extension Credit Only					
Graduate	17,293	-	-	3,787	31
Undergraduate	93,690	81	60	43,700	216
Other	5,567	-	-	18,539	22
Total	116,550	81	60	66,026	269
All Noncredit					
	83,301	118,688	2,851	8,530	1,337
Total	254,975	119,745	2,921	75,616	1,713

sample, indicates that 66% of the total enrollment was for credit and the remaining 34% not for credit.[6] Further, Table 7, indicating total field breakdown for credit offerings, reveals that 49% of the total field was classified as liberal arts. If we add to this the finding that of the non-credit programs observed at the eighteen schools visited, some 20% of the total non-credit offerings were in the liberal arts, we are now in a position to estimate how many of our total of 996,000 adults are taking liberal courses. Thus, of the 996,000, 34% (338,640) would be not for credit; the remaining 66% (657,360) would be for credit. Of the 338,640 non-credit enrollees, some 20% or 67,728 would be in the liberal arts; of the 657,360 credit enrollees, some 49% or 332,106 would be liberal. This adds up to a total of 389,834 adults attending

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[6] In arriving at our percentages in this section we have omitted the data on mass media since the total figure furnished by the U.S. Office of Education does not take this into account.

TABLE 7

ENROLLMENT BY FIELD OF STUDY IN EVENING COLLEGES AND EXTENSION DIVISIONS

Field	Course	Institute	Tutorial	Correspondence	TV-Radio
Residence Credit Only					
Agriculture	523	-	6	70	-
Bus. & Commerce	62,507	-	88	383	-
Education	20,215	520	334	613	-
Engineering	28,696	-	59	346	-
Liberal Arts	103,106	228	92	1,172	-
Other	5,244	-	-	-	-
Total	220,291	748	579	2,584	-
Extension Credit Only					
Agriculture	417	-	-	454	-
Bus. & Commerce	13,229	1,235	-	3,393	-
Education	16,258	1,063	-	3,438	-
Engineering	1,950	391	-	4,351	-
Liberal Arts	43,859	3,586	-	18,298	133
Other	4,850	-	-	1,441	22
Total	80,563	6,275	-	31,375	162

classes in the liberal arts in the universities and colleges throughout the United States. Unquestionably an unreliable figure, but given the present state of the field, it is probably the most reliable one available.

If the sample had been much larger, and if all of the Statistical Supplements had been filled out completely and accurately, the kind of information obtained would still have been insufficient for the purposes of this study. The definition of "liberal education" that was used in the collection of statistics was a liberal arts definition (i.e., a collection of courses by subject matter), not a definition in accord with the investigators' conception of things liberal. (Probably this will always be one limitation on the use of statistics in this field, since it is difficult indeed to imagine a definition that will capture the spirit and essence of

TABLE 8

ENROLLMENT BY FIELD OF STUDY IN EVENING COLLEGES

Field	Course	Institute	Tutorial	Corre-spondence	TV-Radio
Residence Credit Only					
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-
Business	58,806	-	75	-	-
Education	8,624	25	5	90	-
Engineering	27,798	-	45	-	-
Liberal Arts	87,726	-	75	602	-
Other	4,832	-	-	-	-
Total	187,786	25	200	692	-
Extension Credit Only					
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-
Business	-	-	-	-	-
Education	450	-	-	-	-
Engineering	-	-	-	-	-
Liberal Arts	3,659	-	-	-	-
Total	4,109	-	-	-	-

liberal education and yet remain simple and operational enough for statistical reporting purposes.) A second and probably more important limitation on the use of statistics is the tremendous difficulty of basing qualitative judgments upon quantitative data. The fact that there are 10,000 enrollees in liberal arts conferences and institutes does not tell nearly enough. Omitted in the bare statistics is information about the nature of the institutes, the nature of the subjects taught, and the methods used. These questions among others require a deeper and more interpretive analysis than the use of even the most accurate statistics affords.

An Analysis in Depth

One possible way to obtain the kind of program information that would be most useful is through a thorough and thoughtful screening of university catalogues, announcements, and brochures. Material was

TABLE 9

ENROLLMENT BY FIELD OF STUDY IN EXTENSION DIVISIONS

Field	Course	Institute	Tutorial	Corre-spondence	TV-Radio
Residence Credit Only					
Agriculture	523	-	6	70	-
Business	3,701	-	13	383	-
Education	11,591	495	329	523	-
Engineering	898	-	14	346	-
Liberal Arts	15,380	228	17	570	-
Other	412	-	-	-	-
Total	32,505	723	379	1,092	-
Extension Credit Only					
Agriculture	417	-	-	454	-
Business	13,229	1,235	-	3,393	-
Education	15,808	1,063	-	3,438	7
Engineering	1,950	391	-	4,351	-
Liberal Arts	40,200	3,586	-	18,298	133
Other	4,850	-	-	1,441	22
Total	76,454	6,275	-	31,375	162

gathered from the 164 institutions constituting the combined membership of the Association of University Evening Colleges and the National University Extension Association.

In the initial evaluation the objective was to distinguish the unusual credit and non-credit programs from the traditional work in both areas. The material, covering the credit and non-credit courses, was studied against a checklist of areas of interest. The checklist included, in the credit field, unusual liberal programs, special degrees, certificates, Associate in Arts plans, honors-tutorials, workshops, study tours, and advanced-standing programs. In the non-credit field the checklist included liberal programs, programs for specialized groups, workshops, and conferences. A final miscellaneous category covered uses of film, radio, and television media. Several areas of interest, such as library facilities and student activities (clubs, newspapers), did not prove to be of value as the material did not provide adequate information.

On the basis of this analysis, Association of University Evening Colleges and National University Extension Association institutions were classified in terms of liberal program activity from inactive to very active. (See the Liberal Program Activity section of Appendix I.)

Three categories emerged that cut across both the credit and non-credit fields: content, form, and method. Content concerns the subject matter—liberal arts subjects, as distinguished from vocational, technical, and professional subjects. Form concerns the means of presentation—traditional classrooms, workshops, seminars, residential and non-residential institutes, certificates, special degrees, utilization of radio or television, lecture series, etc. Method concerns both content and form; it is recognized in programs that give evidence, through their listings, of a consciousness of the experience factor in adult learning. Method crystallized when there was an indication that content and form were shaped to fit the needs and potentialities of adult students, as exemplified by the granting of advanced standing, utilization of resources outside of the university, and a general freeing from the conventional classroom techniques. These three categories were found to be useful tools in analyzing the credit area. In the non-credit area the categories were still convenient, although they could not be applied as rigorously.

Some Limitations of the Analysis

The procedure of screening brochures, announcements, and catalogues has some disadvantages that limit its effectiveness. Many divisions do not list offerings in any single catalogue; they may scatter their offerings over any number of brochures and announcements. The investigators could not be certain that the material used included the total offerings of each program. Moreover, it could only be assumed that courses listed in the announcements were actually given; yet often announced courses are not given if enrollment is insufficient.

Further, it would be a mistake to discount the possibility of distortion caused by the writing of course descriptions by public-relations motivated personnel: two identical courses can appear to be quite different. In addition, the professor, one of the most influential forces in the "methods" appraisal, is obscured in the formal announcement. These problems only point to the same difficulty of making qualitative judgments that was mentioned in the preceding discussion of statistics. Thus, for example, one school may offer what appears to be a large number of liberal courses, yet this total may not come near matching the quality of a carefully planned, more limited program at another institution.

The Statistical Supplement did not provide any clear picture of program distribution. Problems of terminology, and differing methods of counting enrollments, led to a great deal of confusion. A complete program study would require visitation and interviewing at each of the 164 Association of University Evening Colleges and National University Extension Association institutions. Lacking sufficient time and funds for such a marathon task, this second approach, even with its many drawbacks, does provide an over-all view of programming in the field, and it is valid as long as the imposed restrictions are understood as conditioning factors.

Credit Programming

The Traditional Liberal Program

In the traditional liberal extension program that offers credit, day classes are transferred to night hours and are heavily augmented by vocational, professional, technical, and educational courses. The credit earned can be applied to bachelor and advanced degrees, which are granted by the parent institution or the adult division itself.[7]

Although the content of these courses may be liberal, the courses fall within the context of the day division's basic core requirements or the requirements of remedial education. Accordingly, the high liberal education figures (50%) reported by a large majority of the 18-school sample are somewhat illusory—the figures include everything from Fundamentals of English Composition to upper division offerings in the humanities. The methods also reflect this kind of all-purpose programming in that they are restricted to the conventional classroom meeting either on campus or in extension classes. There is no indication of special formats outside of those which would be standard in the regular day program.

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[7] According to a recent survey by G. Allen Sager: A Preliminary Survey of Baccalaureate Degree Programs of Adult Higher Education (College Park, Md.: College of Special & Continuation Studies, 1958), mimeo.

Unusual Liberal Credit Programming: Content

The yardstick used to differentiate "unusual" liberal credit programming from the traditional was not always easy to apply. The basic distinction was found in programs that emphasize the humanities, the social sciences, and the physical sciences. However, further refinement was needed. Courses—whether strictly "academic," presented interdepartmentally, or geared specifically to adult problems—were judged "unusual" when they were not necessary steps in professional or vocational training. Liberal programming is seen most clearly in schools that show a sense of responsibility for giving depth and breadth to the individual student and the community. Some of these schools offer only a few courses; others offer fully developed adult programs. The study revealed that 76% of the schools offered standard credit programs in the liberal arts and that 34% offered one or more courses falling into the usual liberal credit domain.

Special Degree, Certificate, Associate in Arts. Thirty-two of the AUEC-NUEA schools were found to have Associate in Arts, special degree, or liberal certificate programs. These programs vary widely and are based either on one or two-year study plans, often with the possible option of application toward more advanced degrees. (In the case of the Associate in Arts degree, the program may actually have been established as part of four-year adult programs culminating in an advanced degree.) The liberal certificate and special degree plans occur most commonly in the field of general education or general studies, but in a few instances (for example, at American University, Chicago, Chattanooga, Delaware, and Louisville) such plans existed in the fields of world affairs, government, arts and sciences.[8]

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[8] Special degrees and/or liberal certificates were offered at Akron, American University, Boston, Bridgeport, Brigham Young, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Chattanooga, Chicago, Cincinnati, CCNY, Clark, Delaware, Drake, Louisville, Minnesota, NYU, Northwestern, Regis, Rhode Island, Rutgers, and St. Joseph's in Philadelphia.

Associate in Arts programs were offered at American International, American University, Boston College, Bridgeport, Buffalo, Dayton, Evansville, Hofstra, University of Pennsylvania, Queens College (New York), Russell Sage, Seton Hall, and Texas Christian.

Honors-Tutorial. Only one school, Drexel institute, used the honors method. A liberal arts reading program, including seminars in history and economics, was offered to qualified students who had completed a four-year basic science program.

Credit Workshops, Institutes. Eleven adult divisions maintained credit workshops, both residential and non-residential. The workshops involved intensive study over a limited period of time, generally taking place in the summer months. The residential form is perhaps best illustrated, and employed, by schools that are able to use their environment as a means of drawing enrollments from both within and outside of the state. (E.g., New Mexico—Music, Drama, Communications, Intercultural Relations, Radiation Biology; Utah—Introduction to Aesthetics, Piano, Home and Family Living, Ceramics; Colorado—Summer Painting in the Rockies, Aspen Summer Music Festival.) Another variation has been developed by urban schools: some own or rent facilities in resort areas specifically for residentials. (California's Lake Arrowhead, Chicago's Clearing, Columbia's Arden House, New York University's Gould House, and Syracuse's Adirondack Centers.)

Adelphi's workshops in suburban living problems and Pittsburgh's Intercultural Education are examples of the non-residential workshop held on campus; these two programs point to the wide variety within liberal credit programming.

Study Tours. Study tours were held at 14 institutions.[9] Three to six credits were offered, although in each case there was a non-credit option. Programs included European tours built around a specific subject (art, music, or history) or around more generalized subjects or objectives, such as increasing intercultural understanding. In the case of Mississippi and Syracuse, summer school or semester study was available to adult students in France, Italy, and Mexico. Utah established an arts tour to New York City and Louisville students were provided with an opportunity to take a weekend "Picasso Train to Chicago."[10]

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[9] Brigham Young, Clark, Hunter, Kansas City, Louisville, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Omaha, Southern California, Syracuse, Utah, Utah State, Wisconsin.

[10] The Louisville junket, however, was non-credit.

Courses Designed for Specialized Groups. These credit courses are directed toward professional development and there is little indication of general liberal programming for specialized groups beyond summer workshops, where the specialized nature of the session (painting, ceramics, music, drama) would select a somewhat homogeneous audience. One exception is seen in the extension programs offered to Armed Service Personnel by such schools as Maryland and Omaha. These offerings, however, were most often either vocationally or professionally oriented, or followed closely the requirements of the day program.

Day Courses. Ten per cent of the institutions[11] offered day programs: some operated Saturday classes; others offered weekday courses for housewives and non-working women. The weekday courses were music, theatre, writing, and languages; credit was optional. The University of California Extension Division has initiated a unique non-credit "Breakfast Forum in the Liberal Arts" attended weekly by business and professional men. Day classes provide a possible area of expansion in adult education because they offer a means of using facilities that in many cases stand empty during daylight hours.

Utilization of Visiting Lecturer. This procedure is commonly used for short-term staffing of workshops and institutes and as part of a lecture series program. Many urban schools also use specialists in art, music, and writing from outside the university teaching community. However, in only one case was a chair provided for a visiting lecturer on a full-year basis. Although this practice provides an excellent means for upgrading an adult division in the estimation of the parent institution, the financial investment required to bring in a "big name" for a full semester or year is doubtless an inhibiting factor.

Unusual Credit Programming: Form

Advanced Standing. Only nine schools made specific mention of advanced standing procedures.[12] These followed two patterns: the

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11. Akron, Alabama, Boston University, California, Chicago, CCNY—General Studies, Hawaii, University of Kansas City, University of Michigan, New York University, Omaha, University of Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Queens (North Carolina), Seton Hall, Syracuse, Wichita.

12. Maurice D'Arlan Needham in "Survey of Policies and Practices Relating to Advanced Standing," unpublished report, Center for the

granting of credit for Armed Forces' experience and the use of tests to establish academic status. In the latter case, tests were used (a) to measure entrance eligibility for students who had not completed high school, or (b) as a means of waiving lower division requirements or of allowing a student to receive credit when he had mastered a subject.

Television Programming. Twenty-one schools used television programs. (This number is no doubt conservative inasmuch as this is an area in which there would be much overlapping with the parent institution.) The content ranged from liberal credit courses in science, mathematics, language, economics, and psychology to local history and the arts. It is surprising, however, that despite the overwhelming success of television education—some 300,000 viewers reported participation in an eastern television science series—the use of the medium is negligible. It is true that the cost is high, but as one dean remarked, "Our president is willing to pick up the tab for the public relations value of our programming." In addition, the cost should be more than offset by the opportunity afforded by television to transmit knowledge to adult audiences and by the power television gives the university in strengthening "its influence in the improvement of society."[13]

Radio, AM and FM. This is another difficult area to appraise, because here again there is considerable overlapping with the programming of the parent institution. Only 12 schools specifically mentioned use of radio in their various bulletins, and in no case was radio utilized for credit courses. However, many additional adults are probably being reached by university and college broadcasts, even though these adults are not formally enrolled in courses.

Guidance and Counselling. Almost all the literature mentioned the

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Study of Liberal Education for Adults, March, 1959, p. 15ff., indicates a much higher number of AUEC-NUEA institutions that have advanced standing procedures. Although policies and practices vary considerably, 88% (of 164) permit advanced placement and some 67% permit some system of advanced standing. The interesting observation he makes is that this is related to regional accrediting membership. The North Central schools are most likely to permit advanced standing and placement, the New England schools least likely to do so.

[13] The Committee on Educational Television, University of Chicago, Television and the University (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Notes & Essays #5, 1953).

availability of counselling services. However, only 20% of the adult divisions indicated that the services provided went beyond appointments with faculty members for vocational and psychological guidance.

Outside of the Associate in Arts degree, liberal certificate and honors programs, and the credit workshops and study-travel tours, the credit area shows little experimentation. The possibility that the adult learns differently from the undergraduate and, therefore, may profit from special techniques, seems to have little influence. It must be remembered, however, that within the credit area there is more obligation to conform to the demands of academic respectability in terms of the undergraduate tradition and that there is greater limitation on experimental programming because the credit area is under closer surveillance by the day departments. With a few exceptions, the schools that offered special degrees and liberal certificates showed a more consistent sophistication in their over-all programming. Similarly, schools rarely offered only one course specifically tailored for adults in the credit area. It would appear that if there were resources for one such course, there would be an accompanying cluster in the liberal field.

Non-Credit Programming

The Traditional Non-Credit Program

Sixty-one per cent of the schools studied had non-credit programs of some sort. The most typical non-credit programs included lecture and concert series, craft-skill and recreation meetings, or community-service programs, as well as standard credit offerings open to auditors. Also noted were a large number of workshops and institutes designed to satisfy technical and professional needs. According to the 18-school survey, approximately 20% of the non-credit program in each school would qualify as liberal adult education. (The hit-and-miss nature of the remaining 80% suggests that the non-credit area is subject to greater pressures from the community than the credit and responds with greater flexibility than can the credit structure.)

The Liberal Non-Credit Program: Content

Identical criteria were used in separating both liberal non-credit and liberal credit programs from the traditional ones. Many more schools had credit programs than had non-credit ones. However, among the schools offering non-credit programs, the proportion that offered some liberal courses was a good deal higher than in the credit area.

No non-credit	39%
Liberal non-credit	49%
Traditional non-credit	12%

Liberal Non-Credit Programs: Method

Study-Discussion Programs. Where AFPE, Great Books, and FAE offerings were found, they were usually accompanied by additional liberal non-credit programming. Where there were no study-discussion courses, little beyond discrete traditional offerings was found. This may indicate that in the liberal area the canned programs have provided an initial impetus for many adult programs.

The informal study-discussion technique has been refined beyond the above-mentioned formats by several institutions. One program employed television to stimulate weekly home discussion groups in problems of community development.

Programs for Special Publics. Fifteen per cent of the schools offered programs for one or more of the following publics: labor, executives, secretaries, housewives, parents and children, retired people, alumni, community leaders, educators, conference supervisors, engineers, and scientists. Many schools that offered no liberal non-credit courses beyond "audit" courses and canned discussion programs branched into the special-audience field with courses specifically labeled "liberal arts" for secretaries, executives, and labor groups. Through this kind of course it is possible to recruit in organized groups and to draw upon an audience with some common experiences and interests.

Short-Term Informal Workshops, Institutes, Seminars. Some of these were residential; others were not. Duration ranged from single day, through weekend, to full semester.

Among the 30% of schools with programs of this kind, the content ranged from such broad subjects as creative writing, workshops in opera, folk song, and drama, a Weekend with the Arts, Arts in America Today, International Understanding and Human Relations, to programs established for specialized audiences, such as liberal education for labor, secretaries, or executives. The residential weekend was also used as a means of introducing a more formally structured non-credit class of semester duration.

Miscellaneous. Six schools offered summer arts festivals, while an even larger number provided integrated lecture, television, concert, or film series. Paralleling the credit structure, non-credit programs sometimes encompassed foreign travel and the use of television and radio.

Liberal Non-Credit Programs: Form

Although liberal non-credit programming within each school is less extensive than liberal credit programming, more schools had courses in the liberal non-credit area than in the credit. As noted before, this may be explained in part by the fact that there is less demand for maintaining "university academic level" to satisfy the day departments. Such programming also allows for greater diversity in method and content and particularly in form. Resources outside the university (museums, artists' studios, art galleries, concerts, operas) are used in non-credit programs; and writers, painters, and other non-university specialists can be brought into the classroom.

Summary

An attempt has been made in this chapter to clarify some of the problems that arise in counting programs and enrollments in university adult education. Variety in forms of presentation and in methods was more common in extension divisions than in evening colleges, although the actual amount of liberal effort was roughly the same in both. Classes were the standard formats in evening colleges. In extension divisions, conference, institute, and correspondence course were used as much as classes. Liberal education courses in credit programs ran as high as 50%; in non-credit programs, only 20%. The estimate of enrollment in university adult education by the United States Office of Education provided a basis for figuring enrollment breakdowns.

The analysis of brochures and announcements gave a more detailed program picture in university adult education. The pattern was for adult divisions to repeat the offerings of the campus and the day college at first. Initially, the biggest investment of energy was in traditional credit programs, about one-half of which were liberal arts.

TABLE 10

ESTIMATE OF ENROLLMENT IN LIBERAL EDUCATION

	Credit	Non-Credit	Total
Enrollment in University Adult Education	657,360	338,640	996,000
Liberal Arts Enrollments	322,106	67,728	389,834

This generalization applies to many of the liberal arts colleges studied and seems to be the pattern for adult divisions during early stages of growth. As adult divisions mature beyond this initial stage, unusual credit programming tends to be introduced in the form of special degrees, certificates, tutorials, credit workshops, and the like. Unusual programming makes possible a wider variety of offerings and implies a recognition of a special and unique clientele around which various programs can be organized. Only limited experimentation, however, is possible within the credit framework. The development of non-credit programming allows more latitude to the adult division in discovering its own audiences and building programs to suit them, resulting generally in a more consistent sophistication in over-all programming. The breakthrough occurs with the recognition of a special adult audience that requires a special approach.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to provide a complete picture of the present level of liberal adult programming in evening and extension divisions. We have seen the complexity of the field, the great diversity of offerings in evening college and extension divisions, the vocational bent of the extension division, and the highly developed liberal (non-credit) programming in the larger urban evening divisions. How can we explain the present state of the field? What are the forces that sustain the present level of offerings? It is to these important questions that we now turn.

SECTION II:

FORCES SUSTAINING THE PRESENT LEVEL OF PRACTICE

SOURCE OF CONTROL AND ORGANIZATION OF THE ADULT DIVISION

Preliminary interviews indicated that the kind of liberal adult program a school has is affected in a number of ways by the school's controlling power and by the organization of its adult division. As a result of these initial interviews, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. Source of control makes a difference: public support means more active liberal programming; private or church support means less.

2. Adult divisions that are organized separately from the main college or university are more favorable to the growth and development of liberal adult education than are those that are not. The most favorable organization for liberal adult education is an adult division that functions like a college under a dean.

3. The existence of a set of formal objectives for the adult program is positively related to the amount of liberal education.

4. Liberal education tends to have a higher priority in the adult division when a person is assigned primarily to dream up ideas, do research, or undertake experimental programs. Further, more time, effort, and energy tend to be spent on liberal education if there is a liberal education staff specifically assigned to program development.

5. The length of time that a university has been involved in evening or extension work influences liberal adult programming: the older the division, the more ability the division has to sustain a program.

Source of Control

The initial hypotheses related to source of control as a determinant in liberal adult education. The hypothesis that public support produces more adult programming than private was checked against the NUEA-

AUEC sample. (How source of control functions to sustain traditions favorable or unfavorable to liberal education is treated in the next section.) These schools were mostly private or church-related colleges (62%) rather than public (35%).

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION BY SOURCE OF CONTROL AND TYPE INSTITUTION[1]

	Evening Coll.	Ext. Div.	L. A. Coll.	Total
State	11.1	93.7	-	28.3%
Municipal	13.3	-	-	6.2%
Private	42.2	-	19.6	25.2%
Church	30.0	2.0	78.5	37.1%
Mixed	2.2	4.1	1.7	2.6%
No Answer	1.1	-	-	.5%[2]

The four most active divisions (California, Chicago, New York University, and Wisconsin) were evenly divided between public and private control. The remaining divisions were also evenly split between public (state) and private institutions. (See the Liberal Program Activity section of Appendix 1 for definitions of the activity categories.)

The active schools were also fairly evenly proportioned between state and private-church schools. Both the state schools and the private had a much wider range of liberal program activity than did the municipal colleges.[3]

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[1] The remainder of the report uses the three categories, evening college, extension division, and liberal arts college, as types of institution. These categories describe three distinct groupings. Evening colleges were overwhelmingly private, large, church-related, and urban. Extension divisions were all state-supported (several were church-connected) and operated over a wide geographical area through extension classes, conferences, institutes, field activities, etc. Liberal arts colleges were small church-related colleges with limited offerings operating in cities of under 500,000. In addition this distinction was more useful than categorization according to AUEC or NUEA membership, since a large number of our sample belong to both organizations.

[2] Frequently percentages do not total 100% but vary .1 or .2 producing sums like 100.1% or 99.8%. This results from rounding off percentages in the calculations.

It can be concluded that liberal adult education is not influenced simply by the controlling powers. The relationship is much more complex and includes the university's image of itself and of its mission. The adult program is partly a reflection of this view the larger university has of itself. (This will be considered in more detail later.)

TABLE 12

LIBERAL PROGRAM ACTIVITY BY SOURCE OF CONTROL

	Public (State)	Municipal	Private-Church	Total
Inactive (33)	25% (17)	-	20% (16)	20% (33)
Slightly Active (103)	63% (42)	50% (6)	65% (55)	63% (103)
Active (23)	9% (6)	50% (6)	13% (11)	14% (23)
Most Active (4)	3% (2)	-	2% (2)	1% (4)

Separate Organization of Adult Education

Most of the institutions that responded had separate administrations for adult education.

TABLE 13

SEPARATE ORGANIZATION OF ADULT EDUCATION BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	Liberal Arts Coll.	Total
No, separate organization	23.3%	4.2%	48.2%	25.8%
Yes, separate organization	75.6%	95.8%	51.7%	73.7%
No answer	1.1%	-	-	.5%

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[3] 3. It is interesting to note that municipal colleges were found only in the middle two categories of the four-part continuum; if none of them were among the most active schools, neither were any of them among the inactive.

Almost one-fourth of the evening divisions were not separately organized and almost one-half of the small liberal arts colleges were not autonomous. These were the small educational enterprises usually begun since 1947. These adult units were in the earliest stage of the growth cycle—the stage of departmental domination—and control resided largely with a part-time director.

TABLE 14

FORMAL CONTROL OF ADULT EDUCATION BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	L. A. Coll.	Total
Formal control lies with residence departments; only a part-time director	21.1%	4.2%	71.4%	31.4%
Formal control lies with full-time director of adult education	34.4%	64.6%	19.6%	37.6%
Formal control is in the hands of a dean and the division functions much like a college	41.1%	31.3%	1.7%	27.3%
Other	2.2%	-	5.4%	2.6%
No Answer	1.1%	-	1.7%	1.0%

Control moves from part-time direction, with decision-making responsibility located in the departments (this situation is characteristic in liberal arts colleges) to a full-scale collegial organization (characteristic in the larger evening colleges and extension divisions).[4]

The decision to set up a separate organization within the institution and to appoint full-time personnel requires some acceptance of the adult student as a legitimate consumer of a university or college education. Separate organization is positively related to liberal program activity: none of the institutions in the top three categories of liberal

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4. See Appendix 4 for Profile of Adult Divisions by Type of Formal Control.

program activity were departmentally connected or functioned with part-time directors. All of the schools with no separate organizations and part-time directors were concentrated on the inactive side of the activity continuum.

TABLE 15

LIBERAL PROGRAMMING ACTIVITY AS RELATED TO ORGANIZATION OF THE ADULT DIVISION

	Residence Control	Full time Director	Dean of College
Active Liberal Programming		-	100%
Inactive Liberal Programming	64%	36%	-

Adult division personnel cannot operate in vacuums: they must respond to the problems, the concerns, the demands, the pressures of the non-academic world. Thus their function tends to be peripheral to the central concerns of the university and tends to be closer to the interests and concerns of other segments of the society or community. If this fact is accepted by the university, and if the university recognizes the legitimacy of university-community overlap, then the adult division will be able to do a more effective job. A base within a collegial structure seems to sustain liberal education programs aimed specifically at an adult audience better than any other base.

Objectives of the Adult Division

The hypothesis here was that the existence of a formal set of guiding principles provided a framework within which liberal education would flourish.

The expectation was that a formal set of principles would be more congenial to liberal adult education than none or informal ones. The interest was in objectives that were specifically developed for the adult division and not in those simply carried over from the university. Most divisions that published announcements had specified their audiences and sometimes stated their objectives in this printed material. The large, more diversified operations had at least gone so far as to

TABLE 16

EXPLICIT GUIDING PRINCIPLES BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	Liberal Arts Coll.	Total
No, none at all	18.9%	18.7%	35.7%	23.7%
Yes, unformalized ones	36.7%	47.9%	35.7%	39.1%
Yes, formalized ones	36.7%	29.1%	16.1%	28.8%
No Answer	7.8%	4.1%	12.5%	8.2%

differentiate programs and prospective clienteles. A very small minority of divisions actually had statements of principles running to some twenty printed pages worked out by faculty committees from the main university. Observations by Center staff and preliminary interviewing suggested that this was a favorable context for the development of liberal adult education. It implied some history of effort in adult education and relatively strong faculty support.

The pattern was for extension divisions to function pretty largely with unformalized objectives, while evening colleges tended more toward formalized objectives. (Many evening colleges, however, only appeared to have worked out formal statements of objectives. In fact, their statements were simply reiterations of guiding principles developed for the larger university.)[5]

TABLE 17

LIBERAL PROGRAM ACTIVITY AS RELATED TO THE EXISTENCE OF GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR THE ADULT DIVISION

	No Guiding Principles	Unformalized Guiding Principles	Formalized Principles
Active Liberal Programming	-	-	100%
Inactive Liberal Programming	42%	58%	-

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[5] See Appendix 4 for Profiles of Adult Divisions by Type of Guiding Principle.

Program activity dramatically points up the difference between schools that have guiding principles and those that do not. Those that do are farther along the activity continuum; those that do not have objectives fall toward the inactive end. (The distinction between divisions having formalized and those having informal objectives was more difficult to see on the program activity continuum.)

Staffing

This general area refers to the existence of a second-level professional staff in the adult division—usually called "program administrators." More specifically, the interest was in research staff or liberal education personnel. The question was: "Does your staff include any persons (apart from faculty) whose primary responsibilities are other than administration? What we have in mind is any person whose main job is to dream up ideas, or do research, or undertake experimental programs, or the like?"

TABLE 18

RESEARCH PERSONNEL BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	Liberal Arts Coll.	Total
None at all	88.9%	77.1%	92.8%	87.0%
Yes	11.1%	20.8%	5.4%	11.9%
No answer	-	2.1%	1.7%	1.0%

Extension divisions are more likely to have this sort of person on their staff than evening schools, probably because of larger organizational structures. Such staffing was definitely associated with program activity. All of the divisions having a research person were at the active end of the liberal programming continuum. The breakdown was almost the same on the question: "Are any members of your staff specifically assigned to programming in the liberal arts?"

Evening colleges are more likely to have a liberal education staff than a research person, but in both instances the extension divisions emerged more favorably. The four most active divisions all had research personnel and liberal education staffs; so did many of the "ac-

TABLE 19

LIBERAL EDUCATION STAFF BY TYPE INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	Liberal Arts Coll.	Total
None at all	78.9%	68.7%	87.3%	78.8%
Yes, at least one	17.8%	29.1%	1.7%	16.0%
No answer	3.3%	2.0%	10.7%	5.2%

tive" divisions. None of the inactive or slightly active divisions had a liberal program staff.

History of the Adult Education Enterprise

Schools were asked, "What year was evening or extension work set up as a separative administrative structure, if it was at all?" The breakdowns were:

TABLE 20

YEAR ADULT DIVISION ESTABLISHED BY TYPE INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	Liberal Arts Coll.	Total
Pre-1929	21.1%	52.1%	-	24.2%
1930-1946	26.7%	14.6%	8.9%	19.8%
1947 to present	22.2%	25.0%	39.2%	29.4%
Not separately organized	24.4%	4.2%	44.6%	25.8%
No Answer	5.6%	4.2%	7.1%	1.0%

Most of the extension divisions were established prior to 1929; most of the evening colleges were organized after 1930. Liberal arts colleges, to the extent they committed themselves at all to adult education, did so after 1947. When a division began seemed to be a critical factor in its development. Generally, the longer an adult division was on the scene, the more likelihood there was that the division would have evolved to an equal member of the university family (i.e., to the stage of "assimilation"). This can be ascertained by looking at the composition of the student body within the division, at the professionalization of the evening or extension staff, and at the programs offered. Briefly, equal status or final stabilization requires a core of students committed for a specified period of time and a regular supply of potential students. In most instances this means a core of remedial students and students seeking vocational and professional upgrading. This student population can be regulated by the administration of the adult division. Professionalization of staff refers to level of educational attainment and differentiation of second-level functions. The more stabilized divisions have a raft of second-level specialized personnel whose careers are linked to university adult education, and a supply of readily available faculty. Program complexity refers to the core of programs offered degree-seeking students, plus specialized offerings designed for a number of other specifically adult publics.[6]

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[6] See Appendix 4 for Profiles of Adult Divisions by Age.

UNIVERSITY TRADITIONS AND THE BUDGET

The hypotheses in this area were formulated in terms of four factors: 1) the notions of community service that exist at a school; 2) the kind of commitment that is formalized; 3) the departments or divisions initially involved in the effort; 4) adult program financing.

1. There is more likelihood that liberal education will flourish if there is some recognition in the charter of the university of the legitimacy of serving the adults of the community. This recognition can also appear in public documents of the university—catalogues, official histories, brochures, and the like.

2. The adult division is aided by a strong conception of community service within the university.

3. The departments in which evening or extension work was first offered affect present practice in the adult division. When the first adult offerings are sponsored by the liberal arts departments, there are proportionally more liberal offerings than when other departments are sponsors.

4. The higher the budget of the adult division, the more likely there is to be a high proportion of liberal adult offerings.

5. The more budget flexibility the adult dean has, the more favorable is the situation for liberal adult education.

Traditions of the University

Investigations began with the observation that university traditions were an important variable operating favorably or unfavorably on the development of liberal adult programming. In considering traditions, the image the institution has of itself and of its public was studied. Also studied were 1) traditional source of control, 2) the origin of the university, 3) official statements of objectives relating to an adult clientele, and 4) university attitudes toward community service.

Source of Control

Preliminary investigation indicated that the effect of the traditional source of control was quite marked. The publicly-supported institutions were service oriented and had an active, aggressive outlook toward the communities they served and toward the needs of their various publics. In many cases, state extension divisions filled in all the educational gaps in their states. (For example, if the state had many rural areas with poor high-school facilities, the extension division was very likely to have a vigorous high-school correspondence program.) The charters of such schools referred to ". . . all the people of the state. . . ." These universities usually recognized responsibility to "teaching, research, and extension," in that order. On the whole, liberal adult education did not fare too well in the state extension divisions. This might well be due to the fact that the communities served were still making up a high-school deficiency and so had not as yet expressed more advanced needs.

Staffs, salaries, and budgets at publicly-supported institutions were generally larger, and research or idea men were found more frequently on their staffs than on the staffs of private schools. (This same relationship holds true of liberal education program staffs.)

The adult divisions of the state universities were older and more stable than those of private universities and the work they were trying to do within the university was more widely accepted than at private schools. Half of the state schools had established separate extension divisions before 1929. Better than one-half of the municipal and private schools had separate administrations by 1946. Publicly-supported schools were more likely to have some kind of training program for the extension faculty. (Less than half of the private schools had such training; 80% of the public schools had it or were planning to have it.) Almost 70% of the publicly-supported institutions had some kind of adult education faculty advisory committee, as contrasted with 50% for the private schools. Age, complexity, and size of the school, and the development of their faculty training programs, are all related to the amount of liberal adult program activity.

The orientation of the deans and directors in state schools also was characteristically different from the private schools: more public-school deans listed "community service" as their orientation than did private-school deans.

The private and denominational universities were more selective in their recruiting. They did not seek out extension students but seemed to sit back and wait for students to come to them. Occasionally, an urban evening college became so large and powerful that it began to function like an extension division. It sought out publics and established centers throughout the area in which it was located; it made a conscious attempt to take the resources out to the community. (Syracuse, Buffalo, and Boston are examples.)

These private universities that looked somewhat like public institutions were the exceptions, however, and only seemed to develop in this way when there was no state university in the area.

The denominational schools, largely urban evening colleges, seemed to have a pattern all their own. They were largely day schools in the evening. They tended to view liberal education as "the liberal arts" and were reluctant to change these liberal arts offerings in any way to meet the special needs of adults.

Summary. In general, public institutions provided sufficient resources to support liberal education ventures that were not completely self-supporting. Negative forces were the absence, by and large, of any comprehensive objectives for liberal education spelled out by the adult divisions. This seemed to be related to the relatively weak influence of the arts and science division within the state university as contrasted with the private university.

The force in the private college that favored the growth of liberal education was the existence of clear-cut goals with specific publics and specific purposes in mind. The difficulty here was that the objectives were primarily remedial and were taken over from the daytime program without any modification for the adult. Another negative feature in the private colleges was the view of the evening college as a money-making venture: liberal adult education must limp along in such a milieu.

Attitudes toward Community Service

Attitudes toward community service do not correlate neatly with source of control, although there are some significant tie-ins. Recognizing that there are exceptions, it can be said that state institutions have an active outlook toward their communities and private universities tend to have a passive outlook; the point is, however, that either outlook can operate favorably or unfavorably on liberal adult programming.

Many universities and colleges started out as medical institutes, schools for government employees, teachers' colleges, or engineering schools. Where this was the case, the original emphasis has helped sustain a tradition of community service within the institution even though it is privately supported. Positive attitudes toward the community were generally reflected by the dean's or director's activities in the community and the kind of support he developed for his programs, as is noted in the section on the adult dean.

A community outlook usually results in programs tailored to the specific needs and problems of an adult clientele. It can also lead to the development of a discerning constituency among the influential people within the community. This constituency can serve a protective function for the adult division and can give it the freedom and autonomy needed for creative adult programming.

Community awareness, however, can be disadvantageous: it can reflect only the business and industrial interests of the community, to the detriment of the other interests. Several state institutions had over-all program advisory committees that were dominated by powerful citizens interested primarily in the vocational features of the extension program; their effect was, of course, damaging to liberal adult programs. (This is dealt with in more detail under the community context of the adult program.)

Commitment of University to Adult Education

Again the commitment the university has to adult education is not coterminous with the source of control. One feature of the university's self image is the job it sees itself doing, the audience it publicly states that it is serving or must serve, and the place it gives to its adult programs in the chief university catalogues. Schools that had flourishing programs of liberal adult education generally indicated it in their chief catalogues. At such schools, adult staff members served on influential standing committees and some nod was given in the objective of the university to its responsibilities to an adult clientele, the citizenry of the state, or the community. This was not the case at most private schools. Here the variation in the catalogues was much broader. It was the unusual private university whose objectives referred to the community or to an adult clientele of any sort.

Commitment of the university to extension education was usually a stimulus to the development of guiding principles for the adult division. A rationale, philosophy of operation, or set of objectives was usually found in the older, more diversified divisions.

Creating a University Tradition

Several universities created their own traditions of community service simply because they were forced to.

The small liberal arts college with limited endowment, a local constituency, and no dormitories must often move in the direction of community service simply to survive. Officials at one small university freely admitted that the community relations arm of the university—the evening division—was set up to improve the university's financial situation and lessen the town-gown dissension. The bulletin of the main university now states firmly the institution's responsibility to the local community in terms that suggest it has always been there. Another small liberal arts college for girls set up an evening program in 1947 to improve its public relations and endowment situation in the local community. It has yet to create a "tradition" to justify the move, although some of the college officials see the need to do so.

Another Baptist-founded liberal arts college for men seized the opportunities that the First World War afforded in 1916 to build an evening program. The effort was sustained and reinforced through the years by presidential statements regarding community service, faculty committee affirmations of this move, and formally stated goals in an official history of the university.

Another private university has mobilized itself to meet the decay of its whole region by consolidating scattered evening offerings. An official of the institution stated:

> Behind our readiness [to accommodate requests for service] is a traditional philosophy of being a community university—our charter refers to us as a "People's University."

Rewriting history, creating a past, restoring a "tradition" always reflects a need for some present action. Usually top administrators see the need to move out to the community for one reason or another and explanations come after the fact. A variation of this move can be seen when the impulse to act does not come from the top administration but from one of the schools in the university. This is illustrated most dramatically in schools or departments of education, although it often is illustrated just as well in schools of business administration and engineering. In one private eastern university the department of education set up its own extension program to train teachers. The program has been functioning effectively for over thirty years. This university's recent commitment to adult education can be seen as acceptance by the larger university of the education department's orientation. (In this way departments sometimes function like language groupings in societies that anthropologists have studied. One language eventually becomes dominant and is accepted by the larger group. In the university a "language of extension" becomes elaborated in a department and becomes generally accepted.)

Summary. The traditions that are favorable to the growth of liberal adult education seem to be: 1) some recognition of the importance of the adult or the citizen in the charter of the university (this is seen most clearly in municipal college charters); 2) some emphasis by the university in its public documents of the importance of liberal adult education; 3) some positive conception of community service. Generally, these traditions are more often found in publicly-supported institutions. Private universities that are exceptions usually function as community colleges, have a broad constituency, and face no competition from public institutions.

In short, what seems to be vital is the recognition of the importance of adult education by the university as a whole. Such university-wide statements are usually not very specific, nor do they provide much direction to evening college or extension division activities. Nevertheless, the strength of the large publicly-supported institutions' extension divisions may be attributed in great measure to the formal recognition in charter, catalogue, faculty committee, and administrative statement of the responsibility for the continuing education of the public. Such formal commitments can be undermined by any current administration, but they can never be completely ignored. They are difficult to change; they have a way of outliving an administration opposed to the goals of adult education.

The Role of University Finance: Limited Resources and Legitimate Goals

The history of education in the United States is scarred by the struggles of universities and colleges for financial survival. Income from tuition fees has seldom been sufficient to support any educational program. As a result, the university has had to rely upon gifts from individuals and groups, and in more recent times, upon state and federal aid.

The scarcity of financial resources has necessitated an allocation process that attempts to maximize existing funds. Quite naturally, this process has been guided by some plan of priorities within the university system. The most important enterprise will receive the most money, and those that are deemed less important will receive less financial support.

The amount of financial support that the central administration is willing to give to an educational enterprise, then, would seem to be a good barometer of the status of that particular enterprise within the university. An operation that is expected to pay its own way, or at least break even, is obviously not considered as legitimate as one that the university is willing to subsidize.

It would appear that all new enterprises must go through some period of legitimization during which they receive less support from the university than the old, traditional programs. Eventually, as in the case of the graduate school movement,[1] the university comes to recognize that the enterprise is on a par with its other concerns, and subsidization is possible. Liberal adult education in America has not yet achieved such legitimacy and support.

In general, extension divisions and evening colleges are required to pay their own way or at least to break even. In some of the less well-endowed institutions, adult education in fact acts as a money-making operation for the university as a whole. A virtually universal complaint of adult education administrators dramatically underscores the status of adult education within many universities: a subsidized campus course is made to pay its own way when transferred to the extension or evening college, even though it has the same title, the same content, and the same instructor. The effects of such status on liberal adult programs are important for an understanding of the present level of liberal adult education.

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[1] Richard J. Storr, The Beginnings of Graduate Education in America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

Financial Pressures and Program: General

The pressure to make money or break even, which is prevalent in both the evening college and the extension division, unquestionably has a deleterious effect on adult education in general and on liberal adult education in particular.

First, with almost no experimental funds, there is an inevitable tendency to use the courses of the day departments without change. These courses may or may not be suited to the particular adult clientele that is served. Second, the pressure to make money leads to an emphasis on courses that are certain to have a large enrollment. This means a de-emphasis of non-credit and liberal education on the one hand, a stress on credit and vocational programs on the other.

The same pressure of an "enrollment economy"[2] may produce non-credit courses designed to meet the felt needs of the community. Such courses as "fly-tying" and "horse-shoeing" that arise out of this situation, particularly in state schools, further reinforce the already unfavorable picture that the day-time traditionalists have of adult education. This, of course, fortifies existing notions of second-class status, which in turn leads to a less favorable allocation of scarce resources. Thus a vicious cycle tends to operate in adult education. Because it is not considered as legitimate an educational enterprise as the undergraduate and graduate programs, adult education receives less money from central administration and is required to pay its own way. But paying its own way often leads to a proliferation of "service" courses, which in turn fortifies the unfavorable picture.

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[2] Burton R. Clark, "The Marginality of Adult Education," Notes and Essays #20 (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1958).

Financial Pressures—Evening College

In general, financial pressures influence evening colleges more than extension divisions. An indication of the poor financial condition of the evening college as compared with the extension division is found in the comparative prevalence of risk capital. Table 21 indicates that state universities are most likely to have risk capital, followed by municipal colleges and private universities in that order. Among the private schools, the denominational are least likely to have risk capital.

TABLE 21

RISK CAPITAL IN ADULT DIVISIONS
BY SOURCE OF CONTROL

	Yes	No	No Answer
State	74.5%	18.1%	7.2%
Municipal	66.6%	25.0%	8.3%
Private	55.2%	28.9%	15.7%
Denominational	42.8%	39.2%	17.8%

Many of the smaller private universities and colleges are fighting for their very existence. In these institutions, the evening colleges are almost certainly looked upon as income producers or as public-relations enterprises.

If the president views the evening college as an income producer, the emphasis is placed quite naturally upon the bread-and-butter, sure-money-making courses. Only rarely can liberal education thrive in such an environment. This comment from an evening dean of a midwestern university is typical of a school under serious financial pressure: "Every new course I want to put on, I have to make an air-tight case to the chancellor, showing that we won't lose any money on it." Unfortunately, it seems to be much more difficult to make such an air-tight case where liberal education is concerned.

The public-relations view of adult education can lead in either direction. If the president feels that he can better reach his public by doing something for them as individuals, there is likely to be an emphasis on meeting individual or community demands. The value of this approach in terms of increasing the endowment of the university as a whole is recognized by many educational administrators. Said one evening dean:

> One of our trustees once said that the public relations value of the Community College was very great. I think it's good too. When the Chancellor goes and makes speeches asking the community to raise a couple of hundred thousand dollars for the university, his chances are a lot better if people know that we are giving them this kind of service. I think we [adult division] contribute to the university in this way more than any other college. . . .

Some educational administrators may even be willing to subsidize the evening college because its ultimate public-relations value is so great. Said one provost at a southern university:

> We can't underestimate the evening college as a developmental force. The evening school seems to support itself from fees, and this makes college income. But there are intangible results accruing to the college in addition to this. I'm thinking of revenues that might come from other sources: a $200,000 contribution toward our fund campaign from persons interested in the program. Thus, even if we paid out for a loss in the program, it still would not cost us in the long run.

To the extent that the public-relations view manifests itself solely in the individual demands for courses of the "fly-tying," "horse-shoeing" calibre, the public-relations view grinds true liberal adult programming into the ground. Even courses specifically organized for community groups may only be institutes or conferences of a vocational or business nature.

But there is a public-relations approach that may have good results with respect to liberal education. The university president may regard the evening college operation as a means to present a favorable image of the university to the community at large. The underlying motive may be to increase endowments, or it may be to encourage parents to send their children to the day school. But irrespective of the motive, the emphasis here is likely to be on top-quality courses. In these circumstances, the liberal arts program may well be subsidized, although it may not include anything in the non-credit area.

Financial Pressures—Extension Division

The financial condition of the extension divisions seems generally better than that of the evening colleges. State aid is the determining factor. It is quite possible that state funds play a more important role indirectly than they do directly. The state, by subsidizing the university as a whole, takes pressure to produce income off the extension division. The state university knows that it will be in existence next year regardless of any change in the political control of the legislature. Under these conditions, the university may not expect the extension division to make money to support the institution as a whole. However, it is quite clear that the extension division, like the evening college, is expected to pay its own way in almost all of its endeavors. However, given a sufficient amount of budgetary flexibility (this is not always given), a state extension director is in a position to do some experimentation with the liberal arts. The budgets of extension divisions are generally larger than those of evening colleges, and a dedicated extension director can use the profits from bread-and-butter courses to subsidize liberal education ventures that are almost certain to lose money.

Of course, almost all extension divisions receive money directly from the state. But such direct aid certainly does not solve all of the financial problems in extension. First, the extent of state aid to extension is likely to be very small as compared with other units in the university. Thus, in one of the better state universities, the day colleges are expected to make 20% of their budget and receive an 80% subsidy from the state. The situation is exactly the reverse in the extension division, where state aid amounts to 20% and income from fees is expected to cover the remaining 80%. Actually, some extension divisions would be happy to receive as much as a 20% subsidy. Said one extension director in a large southern university, "the day is still far off when the legislature will approve 5% of the educational budget for extension. Our best bet at present is to get support for pet projects."

This comment about pet projects reveals another problem connected with state funds. Quite often state legislatures are dominated by powerful interest groups. These groups see to it that the extension division is provided with funds to provide courses that serve their particular interests. So far as has been determined, there are no pressure groups in any state legislature whose primary aim is to supply funds for liberal education. Once again, the result may be an emphasis on business and vocational courses at the expense of liberal education.

Another related problem attending direct state aid to extension is the state's tendency to keep a very close, and at times stifling, watch on the funds it gives to extension (and to the university as a whole). Many states have a bureau whose job is to keep track of the budget, vouchers, payroll, etc. That such bureaus can create problems is revealed by these frank remarks from the director of a midwestern extension division:

> To the extent which these people feel that they can control the budgets of higher education, they have the power to determine what you can do, and in doing so they usurp large areas of academic freedom. . . . On a very broad scale, I would say that one of the most damaging things in all of higher education is the extent to which this kind of state unit takes away academic freedom. It does away with the flexibility necessary to do the job of teaching and research. It gives people in political power the right to control—almost—what an institution can or cannot do.

Yet another problem is the sometimes ephemeral nature of state aid. At the time of the writing of this report, there seems to be some kind of a trend in state legislatures to expect extension to be entirely self-supporting. It is difficult to say whether this trend is nation-wide or whether recent cuts in specific states are the results of pressures peculiar to the politics of the states concerned. Whatever the reason, when a new administration sweeps into power on an economy platform, a low-priority operation like the state general extension division is quite likely to be hit first and hardest.

As far as program is concerned, the situation in extension is similar to that in the evening college: In state schools the budgetary pressures are somewhat less, the extension division is likely to have a larger budget and some risk capital. Like the evening college, the extension division must pay its own way, but for somewhat different reasons. Extension divisions generally do not have the same status problems as the evening colleges: they are old and honorable institutions. However, they are viewed as "service," rather than as "educational," enterprises. As a result, those who profit from the service are expected to pay for the service. Of course, a great deal of extension can be classified as "service"; however, the service orientation is carried through the entire division, even in those instances that are unquestionably educational and that would undoubtedly be subsidized if they were given during the day on campus.

As far as liberal education for adults is concerned, the "pay your own way" philosophy has the same deleterious effect in extension as it does in the evening college. Also, in extension, there is a strong philosophy of service to the community and of meeting the felt needs of the people. Here the attitude frequently is that since extension is supported by tax money, it must do something directly for the taxpayer (i.e., give him what he wants). Unfortunately, taxpayers do not demand liberal education. The result is a dearth of liberal education offerings in extension, tempered only by the messianic zeal and commitment to the liberal arts of a few extension directors who are willing to go out and create the need, and who will go through the necessary budgetary contortions to finance the program.

The Chief Budget Officer and Budgetary Policy[3]

Recognizing the importance of finance in adult education, a considerable portion of the self-administered questionnaire sent to evening and extension deans dealt with budgetary problems. To supplement this information a section on budget was included in the interview schedule. To round out the picture, the chief budget officer was interviewed at each of the eighteen schools visited, although admittedly it was a less intensive session than those with the evening and extension deans and directors.

In general, it seemed more difficult to get useful budgetary information from any of the university personnel visited than it was to obtain information about other aspects of evening and extension education.

First, the whole budget area in the university is a confusing and chaotic one compared to equivalent size business organizations. But, more important, inquiries about budgetary problems seemed particularly threatening to both the evening and extension dean and to the budgetary officer.

The contrast between the deans and the budget officers was striking. The deans were more affable about fiscal matters, even if they were reticent when the questions probed the informal techniques used to supplement (if not to circumvent) formal budgetary policy. The chief budget officer was much more uncommunicative: he would not discuss any policy matters. His answers to questions were usually crisp and to the point; it was difficult to get any insight into the attitudes and beliefs that determined his approach to university budgeting. The budget officer was often quite willing to describe the formal rules by which the budget is formed and implemented. He would frequently bombard the interviewer with charts and financial statements. But when the conversation veered to more general policy questions the answer was frequently "no comment."

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[3] The material on the budget officers and adult division financing was drawn from 18 lengthy interviews with central administration comptrollers and twelve separate items in the questionnaire.

There seems to be a cold war going on between the budget officers and the other educational administrators. The informal rules of the game and the strategy involved are difficult to discover; perhaps they are trade secrets. As a result, data accumulated by the investigators are certainly less than complete, maybe less than accurate. Nevertheless, useful and interesting hypotheses and impressions are possible.

First, at almost every school visited the budget officer was young and new to the job. The field is apparently a fluid one, and the role of the budget officer is looked upon as a training ground for other administrative posts in higher educational administration, with the goal of president frequently mentioned.

Second, as regards the budget officer's self-image, there was a remarkable similarity in viewpoint at each of the schools visited. The budget officer looks upon himself as an administrator, not as a policy maker. Whenever questions became at all controversial, or were connected with educational policy, the common answer was: "This is a policy decision and my office would have nothing at all to do with it. I only see that people keep within their allocations and I'm not interested in courses."

The self-image seems to contain more than a touch of "organization man" behavior and it ignites certain provocative notions about the next crop of university presidents!

In the smaller schools with serious financial problems the budget office is quite likely to be a mere accounting instrument of the president. In this situation, the president is usually in command of all policy making, budgetary, educational, and otherwise. In the small school the entire administrative staff, both day and evening, is quite likely to be in the same building as the president and at his beck and call. As the schools grow in size and diversity, the president is less able to retain complete control and is forced to delegate more and more of his authority. In such a situation, the budget officer is often in a position to make budget policy, and thereby to affect educational policy.

How does the budget officer affect policy? An examination of the concrete patterns of policy formation reveals that policy making and administration are not two mutually exclusive functions, but are closely linked aspects of the same process. Policy is quite obviously being formed as it is being implemented; the sharply drawn picture of the strictly instrumental bureaucrat seems to be an illusion of those who are more impressed by theoretical neatness than by empirical reality.

For example, if the president decides that this is to be a tight money year and that each division must hold the line, the chief budget officer, in implementing this policy, may exert considerable pressure to assure that courses and programs whose financial outcome is uncertain are eliminated. It is quite true that the budget officer may not be interested in these courses from an educational point of view; yet his single-minded purpose to keep the university holding the line financially may prejudice him against courses that traditionally lose money.

Many budget officers admitted that they were sorry that the university was not a profit-making business organization. One budget officer admitted frankly that he had always "to keep remembering that this is not like General Motors; we aren't in a business." It is easier to overcome the profit orientation when dealing with the regular undergraduate and graduate divisions. Here, there is a strong tradition of subsidization for worthy educational enterprises. But since the evening and extension divisions are not yet accepted as quite as legitimate enterprises as their day-time counterparts, and since there is a tradition for adult education to pay its own way, the adult division seems to take on more of the characteristics of a business. The budget officer's latent profit-and-loss mentality is less easily restrained under these circumstances and his impulse is to judge an adult course not by its educational merit but by its income-producing qualities.

A profit-and-loss approach to adult education creates formidable obstacles to the development of liberal education programs for adults.

This is clearer in the case of non-credit offerings, which are frequently looked upon by both the budget officer and the president as just so much tinsel. While there were a few budget officers who saw the logic of subsidizing adult credit courses, the prevalent attitude toward non-credit courses was much less generous. As one man put it, "If liberal arts non-credit courses were not self-supporting, I guess we'd have to cut them off."

This is not to say that the budget office normally makes the final decision regarding the content of the evening and extension program. It is to say that by professional training and experience, the budget officer is almost a natural enemy of costly, experimental adult programs, which have little hope of making money or breaking even. While he may not be in a position to eliminate such courses, he is generally the chief fiscal advisor to the higher administration and his advice is not taken lightly. He often gives advice on policy matters to an evening or extension dean before that dean discusses the matter with the president or vice president. He also advises the president and vice president on the financial feasibility of new courses and programs. Yet by inclination and by the very nature of his role in the university bureaucracy, he will be a conservative force tending to delay or inhibit the development of experimental and imaginative programs of liberal education for adults.

The chief budget officer is just as likely to hedge on similar proposals for the day campus and for the same reason; but in the prevailing framework of acceptance of campus priorities, his influence does not have the same restrictive effect.

The chief budget officer, of course, is not the direct cause of adult program limitations. His recommendations do, however, reflect the status of adult education within the university world.

Budget Policy: Formal and Informal Discrimination

The investigators initially guessed that the evening college and extension division were likely to be discriminated against by the central administration. It has been suggested that there is a powerful unwritten law that the adult operation should pay its own way. This law is of crucial significance as far as the development of liberal education programs is concerned.

However, as far as formal budgetary policy is concerned there is little evidence that the adult division is treated any differently than the day divisions. Most budgets for adult divisions are submitted to the same person as are other divisional budgets. All schools within the university are required to operate within their budgetary allocations. The adult division generally pays no more overhead than any other division, although the data here are extremely hazy.

Occasionally, what could be interpreted as formal discrimination against the extension division turns out to be, upon close examination, an informal arrangement agreed to by both the central administration and the adult division. This agreement is designed to protect everyone against the more formidable common foe, the state legislature. For example, at a large southern extension division that had accumulated a considerable surplus as a result of the post-war enrollment boom, a continuation center was built "to keep the money away from the legislature." The director admitted that the funds "really should have been spent on programming, but the legislature was setting committees and asking questions about all the special funds around the university . . . I sank $500,000 into this building."[4] In spite of this large outlay, a tidy sum remained in the extension fund. The central administration contrived an overhead policy to protect the university in-group. A high administrator explained that "we thought it might prove a temptation to the trustees and to the legislature to cut our other budgets if so much surplus remained in extension funds. So it was thought advisable for extension to make an over-costs' contribution each year of about $20,000."

But although the central administration and the adult division are eager to co-operate in the face of a common enemy, this co-operation does not always extend to intra-university budgetary considerations. Thus, there is a widespread difference of opinion as to whether the evening and extension divisions do in fact pay more overhead than do other divisions. Is the adult division really self-supporting and does it contribute more than its just share of income to the university coffers?

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[4] Another extension director questioned this interpretation:

> The use of $500,000 for a new building makes much more sense than the informant indicates. Money for a building is a one-time expenditure. An expenditure for programming implies a continuing financial commitment which the adult division may not be in a position to fulfill. The handling of surpluses and the attitude of lawmakers toward such surpluses in state institutions makes sense. . . . If I were a member of a lawmaking body I believe I would question maintaining over-large cash balances and as a university administrator I would feel compelled to consider the extent to which a continuing commitment was involved when extra money was being expended.

It was not uncommon for the central administration to assert that the university was actually subsidizing the evening and extension division, inasmuch as they paid no overhead and frequently used the facilities, supplies, and equipment of the day schools without charge. The evening and extension answer to this allegation is that the adult division is making so much money for the total university that no matter what they were assessed for overhead they would still be bearing more than their share of the financial burden.

Many an evening and extension dean has gone so far as to assert that the adult division is milking the public for the benefit of the regular day-time program. An evening dean asserted that the "real place the money is going, is to the full-time student." Extension directors agree. One argues that an analysis of his budget reveals ". . . an embarrassing if not unethical disparity between expenditure and income. To return only one-half of the tuition in service to the students is a condition which will tend to increase the mediocrity of the program and weaken the structure of a service designed to act in part as a feeder for long-term or degree programs within the university."

The argument as to who is supporting whom cannot be easily resolved. An accurate assessment of the "profit" made by any university program requires a system of cost accounting that few universities have or need. The truth probably lies somewhere between the extremes. That is to say, the evening and extension divisions quite obviously contribute more to the total university, financially, than do the other units; but in view of the failure to assess the actual overhead costs to the adult division, their contribution is somewhat smaller than they usually claim.

The Need for Flexibility

The fact that most budget officers state that evening and extension divisions are not discriminated against, and that budgetary policy with regard to deficits, surpluses, and overhead is equally applicable throughout all the divisions in the university, does not of itself eliminate all criticism of existing fiscal policy. It can be argued with compelling cogency that the evening and extension divisions should not merely be treated equally, but should be treated differently in view of the different kind of operation involved. This different treatment is most vividly demonstrated through the question of budgetary flexibility.

The adult division characteristically offers a wide diversity of courses, both credit and non-credit. Demands from the community for short courses and institutes or for special programs are quite likely to be sporadic. The undergraduate and graduate divisions are in a much better position to estimate their yearly budgetary requirements since most of their students are registered for a sequential credit program leading to a degree. Thus, while a rigid budget policy may be feasible and even desirable for the day divisions, this same policy can have serious effects on the adult operation. In some schools, the difficulty of transferring funds from one account to another during the year can result in the cancellation of courses. Of course, the ingenuity of the evening and extension dean or director in devising informal means to circumvent bureaucratic restrictions must not be underestimated.[5] Yet these informal means, effective though they may be, may not outlive the person who has devised them. The formal recognition by the central administration of the need for budgetary flexibility in the adult division has a permanence about it that transcends the particular individual presently filling the role of dean or director, however skillful a manipulator.

Many schools do recognize this need for flexibility. In some universities, the evening college budget is prepared from quarter to quarter. The dean of one of these schools explains that he has "to do it that way because from quarter to quarter I'm never sure what my income or costs are going to be." In some schools, the budget is broken up into two parts, one flexible and the other rigid. The rigid part includes the salaries of faculty members who have regular tenure appointments in the adult division, either on a full-time or joint-appointment basis. This money cannot be touched. However, the flexible part of the budget is likely to include administrative salaries and a wages account out of which part-time community faculty is paid. In this part of the budget the adult dean or director generally has the authority to transfer funds from one account to another without the prior approval of the central administration.

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[5] Such manipulative techniques are important and apparently widespread. In spite of the formal rigidity of the usual budgetary categories, there is some informal play between these categories. A director of extension provides insight into the actual workings of his budget: "In the proposed budget, the $93,000 from the state includes about $6,000 for experimentation and research related to extension education. This money will be available for the director and associate directors for projects they want to undertake—of course we can't call it that in the budget because the Budget Commission would never stand for it."

Another important device to gain flexibility is the use of the "restricted" or revolving fund. In this case, all the fees that are collected for a particular program remain within the division for the entire year and do not go directly into the university general account. The evening and extension director can use this money throughout the year to pay salaries of faculty. An example of the operation of such a fund in a small midwestern university will make its applicability and importance clear. In this school, faculty who teach in the non-credit program are paid out of an account called "Salaries-Non-Credit." If the funds in this account are used up before the end of the year, and if the administration refuses to permit the adult dean to transfer funds from elsewhere (which is not a rare situation), then no additional courses can be given for the remainder of the year. After considerable argument and discussion, the evening dean convinced the chancellor that the lack of budgetary flexibility was causing considerable hardship to the division. The chancellor reluctantly recognized that "because it is difficult to predict budget needs annually for the division, it may be necessary to establish a revolving fund for certain operations of the division."

It was agreed at this same school that the Industrial Relations Center would be set up as a revolving fund. This meant that all fees that were collected for industrial relations courses did not go into the general university fund but were retained within the division. This fee income was used to pay the salary of faculty who taught in the industrial relations program. The end results of this arrangement were twofold: first, if there was an over-all profit in the industrial relations account at the end of the year, it did not revert to the university general account, but was retained within the division; second, and more important, courses in industrial relations could be given all year long without any fear that the "Salaries-Non-Credit" account would be insufficient to meet the costs.

The chancellor's agreement to permit the adult division to set up a revolving fund was recognized as a considerable triumph for the division. It may well be that one index of the strength and support of an evening or extension division within the total university would be the existence of such revolving funds.

All of the devices to give greater budgetary flexibility to the adult division have an important bearing on liberal adult education. Liberal education courses that are especially for adults are expensive and seldom pay their own way. An adult dean or director with sufficient authority to transfer funds between accounts is in a position to use fees from programs that characteristically make money to subsidize these liberal education ventures. Naturally, all of this manipulation requires a dean who is sufficiently sold on the desirability of liberal adult education to take the time and trouble. But a dean who has a favorable orientation will be aided in his attempts to put on imaginative programs by the institutionalization of a flexible budgetary policy.

Relation of University Tradition and Budgeting to the Growth Cycle[6]

University acceptance of adult education as expressed in charters, public documents, and stated policies, together with some positive notions of community service, are most emphatic in these divisions at the stage of Assimilation. Divisions at the stage of Departmental Domination are most likely to be without any of the traditions that sustain liberal adult efforts. The development of favorable attitudes toward community service within the division and the university is most likely to appear at the Autonomous stage. More formalized commitments in the form of university or adult division policies are most apt to occur at the Integration or Assimilation stages.

Budget distribution in all the adult divisions gives a fairly accurate breakdown by various stages of development. The continuum is from

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[6] See Table 22.

TABLE 22

THE GROWTH CYCLE AND UNIVERSITY TRADITIONS AND THE BUDGET

Traditions	Departmental Domination	Autonomy	Integration	Assimilation
Charter of the University	No recognition of adult or citizen	No recognition of adult or citizen	Split between some recognition and none	Usually some charter recognition of adult
Public documents of the Univ. (Catalogues, official histories, brochures)	No reference to responsibility in adult education	No reference to responsibility in adult education	Some policy statements supported by higher adm. relating to adult education	Official recognition of responsibility in adult education
Conception of community service	Undeveloped	Awareness of the community in P.R. terms	Positive conception of community service	Strongly developed conception of community service
Budget size	No separate budget or $1,000 to $50,000	$50,000 to $500,000	$500,000 to $1,000,000	Over $1,000,000
Budget flexibility in re risk capital and disposition of surplus and deficit	Less than standard flexibility	Less than standard to standard flexibility	Standard to better than standard flexibility	Better than standard flexibility

divisions with no separate budgets in the stage of Departmental Domination to divisions with budgets of over two million dollars in the Assimilation stage. Again, to the extent that budgeting is an index of university acceptance of adult education, the range is from almost no acceptance in the early stages to complete acceptance at the later stages.

Summary and Conclusions

The conclusions on the role of budget officers in determining liberal adult programming are quite modest. They can be summarized as follows:

1. University budget officers have more discretion in interpreting policy than is generally thought. They not only implement policy, they interpret it. This is more likely to happen in a large organization than a small one.
2. Budget officers are critical figures in determining what the adult division does when they have some discretion. They are likely to see the adult enterprise as more of a business organization and deal with it in terms of a profit and loss mentality because of university traditions regarding adult education subsidation.
3. Budget officers are not the single most important factor in liberal adult education—they usually reflect the view of the president.
4. In all university and college organizations the budget officer is a key figure because of the recommendations he makes to the president.

Finance is unquestionably one of the crucial variables sustaining the present level of university adult liberal education. Universities in America seem always to be short-funded and to be continually struggling with budgetary problems of serious magnitude. If the total available financial resources are less than adequate for all the purposes for which they are needed, it is naturally programs that are considered less important that will be starved. At present it is adult education that is considered "less important."

University presidents, chief budget officers, and other central administrators generally share the attitude that the reputation of the university cannot be made by an evening or extension program, even an outstanding one, but rather can be made only by high-quality graduate and undergraduate divisions. The secondary status of evening and extension education is reflected in the widespread requirement that it will be tolerated, and even vigorously supported, so long as it pays its own way and does not get in the way.

Money is important, even vital, in programming for adult divisions. But even a cursory analysis of the correlation between financial resources and liberal adult program diversity discloses that there are some schools that have been able to work wonders with almost no funds, while others languish in relative prosperity without a liberal offering in sight.

University traditions and the budget do not alone explain the status of liberal adult programs. Traditions can languish or be de-emphasized, or they can be created. Budgeting practices also are only one aspect of the story and must be viewed in the perspective of the other sustaining forces. A further explanation of the bases of good liberal adult programming must take into account the attitudes of the president, key deans, and departmental heads—among other factors.

UNIVERSITY ACCEPTANCE OF ADULT EDUCATION

Hypotheses about the relation of general university acceptance to liberal education programming were framed in terms of the status of the adult division within the university system and of the attitudes of the president, key deans, and faculty. Faculty arrangements within the adult division, growth of a faculty "culture," and advisory faculty committees were also investigated.

1. The resources to develop an effective liberal education program depend partly on the status of the adult dean and his division within the university system. The higher his status, the more he is accepted as an equal of other university deans and the more liberal programming he can effect.

2. Effective liberal programming is dependent on the enthusiasm of the president toward the adult program in general. Liberal programming grows when he is enthusiastic and declines when he is skeptical about adult education. More specifically, the president's attitude toward the adult division affects the nature and amount of liberal education offerings as follows:

a) When the president sees the adult division primarily as a money maker, only those liberal education offerings that make money will be sustained. These are degree offerings, transferred intact from the day or campus with the least amount of modification for an adult clientele.

b) When the president sees the adult unit in terms of its public-relations value, then there is slightly more possibility of developing effective liberal education offerings than if he has a money-making view.

c) When the president views the adult division as an equal member of the university family, then the situation is even more favorable to liberal education.

d) The president's view is most favorable to the development of liberal adult programming when he has a special concern for educating adults.

3. To the extent that the adult division has the positive support of the key deans within the institution (usually arts and science, education, commerce, and engineering) liberal programming is increased. Their opposition to the adult division or program diminishes the possibilities of good liberal programming.

4. When more than 50% of the adult faculty comes from the local community ("street corner faculty"), this has an adverse effect on liberal adult programming. Campus resources are limited when such a situation prevails.

5. Liberal programming is most effective when the adult dean has control over his own faculty—when he can hire or fire them or shares this responsibility jointly with a campus authority. This is dependent, however, on the attitude of the adult dean toward liberal education. If he is not favorably disposed, then the amount of faculty control he has bears no relationship to the amount or quality of liberal education.

6. The amount and effectiveness of liberal adult education is related to the existence of a faculty advisory committee drawn from the main university that recommends program ideas, faculty, and policy to the adult dean.

7. The more differentiated the faculty arrangements are, the more favorable are the liberal education opportunities within the adult division. This hypothesis, however, depends on the amount of university acceptance of the job the adult division is doing. University acceptance coupled with differentiation in faculty arrangements provides the most favorable climate for liberal education. Differentiation involves:

a) A graduated payment system for regular faculty teaching in the adult division.

b) A system of ranks that is not the same as the campus system and that allows distinctions to be made at least for length of service.

c) The development of an "adult faculty culture" through various contacts among faculty members. Contact ranges from informal get-togethers to regular meetings held at departmental or divisional levels.

d) Some kind of faculty training or orientation.

Status of the Adult Division

An attempt was made to ascertain the position of the adult division within the university by noting the policy-making committees upon which the adult dean or director sits. Questionnaires revealed that deans who sat on no committees were typical of the smaller evening colleges and extension divisions in the early stages of development. Deans who sat on the more powerful committees were found in the more mature divisions, though here they were more likely to be found in evening colleges than in extension divisions. This pointed up the importance of acquiring accurate information on university committee structures. (Outside of the university senate or council are there any university committees which are considered vital by personnel in most American universities? Or is each university and college unique in the way decision-making responsibility is divided among committees?)

Attitudes of Presidents, Day Deans, and Department Heads

The investigators started with the notion that flourishing programs of liberal adult education that are creatively different from day or campus offerings require strong support of the president, key deans, and department heads within the university proper. Presidential support, however, is the most crucial factor here, and with it adult divisions can function smoothly against formidable opposition from the campus. The best arrangement that a division seems able to work out is positive support by the president, co-operation or neutrality on the part of the key deans, and a series of co-operative arrangements with interested department heads.

Attitudes of the President

Most adult deans and directors, whether of extension divisions or evening colleges, indicated that their presidents were quite enthusiastic. In response to the question, "What would you say the attitude of your president is toward your adult program?" the answers broke down as follows:

TABLE 23

ATTITUDES OF PRESIDENTS TOWARD THEIR ADULT DIVISIONS

Very Favorable	70.6%
More or Less Favorable	22.7%
Indifferent	.5%
Skeptical	1.0%
More or Less Against It	1.5%
No Answer	3.6%

Few adult administrators were willing to admit any lack of presidential enthusiasm for their programs. This makes the small group that admitted indifference, skepticism, or outright hostility quite exceptional. They are immediately confronted with the question—"Then what am I doing here?" Actually the group that indicated a "more or less favorable" attitude was undoubtedly concealing some concern about presidential support. This was revealed in the interviewing. In one instance where the adult dean admitted presidential hostility, he was able to function in the face of it. The dean had powerful and articulate friends supporting him throughout the state and in the state legislature. His immediate superior, too, was not the president but a provost who functioned as president of the local campus while the top administrator presided over a state system of colleges. The point to be made here is the enormous part the president plays in setting limits on what the adult division, or for that matter, any other part of the university enterprise, can do.

But even within the framework of warm support for the adult division several characteristically different attitudes are present. An attempt was made to identify the specific kind of support the president gives to adult education. Not only his degree of enthusiasm but his image of the adult division were studied. These factors were studied only as perceived by the adult dean.[1] Four different outlooks were distinguished: a money-making image (6.7%); a public-relations image (33.5%); a same-as-campus image (27.8%); a missionary zeal for adult education image (5.2%). The hypotheses were that a money-making image is a serious handicap to liberal adult programming. The public-relations image can operate favorably or unfavorably, more likely the former. The same-as-campus image can also operate favorably or unfavorably. The most favorable outlook the president can have (and the least likely) is one of missionary zeal for adult education.[2]

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[1] There was no check on the accuracy of the adult dean's perception of the president's orientation. But in the institutions actually visited, the adult dean's perceptions could be checked against the reality. To the extent these 18 schools are representative, the adult dean's perception of the president's view as he reported it in the questionnaire was essentially correct.

"Income-Producing View" Divisions (6.7%). Characteristically, these schools are recent arrivals—small private or church-related evening colleges in urban contexts and in the earliest stage of the growth cycle. They have all the problems to solve, all the fights to win. Their annual budget is considerably lower than that of the other three groups, and they are not likely to have risk capital. They expect emphatic opposition from the arts and science dean and neutrality or some opposition from the other deans. They have no immediate plans for liberal adult education. They are least likely of the four groups to have drawn up a set of guiding principles for their operation. They indicate that they do not have community support. Their offerings are almost carbon copies of the day-time or campus courses. The deans or directors are more likely to come from lower-level education or other jobs in university administration and are not as well trained as their counterparts in the other three categories.

The "Public Relations Image" Schools (33.5%). Characteristically, these schools are divided between large urban evening colleges and state extension divisions. Annual budget is somewhere between $100,000 and $500,000. They fare well financially: they have some risk capital, they can finance deficit operations with income from programs that make money, and they are likely to have a full-time research or idea man. The directors tend to be community oriented and there is a tradition of community service at these universities. The deans or directors come from a liberal arts or education background, usually come out of the faculty, have doctorates, and have been on the job longer than their counterparts in the other three groups. Whether there is any liberal adult programming in these schools depends upon the convictions of the dean himself.

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[2] See Appendix 4 for Profiles of Adult Divisions by Their President's Image.

The "Same-as-Campus Image" Schools (27.8%). These schools are apt to be oldtimers, frequently pre-1929. They may be large urban evening colleges or state extension divisions. Annual budget is also somewhere between $100,000 and $500,000. They are apt to have risk capital and to have some freedom to maneuver within their budgets. Deans or directors usually sit on powerful university committees and expect good support from key deans. Deans tend to have a strong academic orientation and confess to having no formal community support for their programs. These schools are more likely to have elaborated a set of formal objectives for their adult programs. The deans or directors are likely to have come from the faculty and have doctorates in education. Again, the determinant of good liberal programming in this instance is not the president's view of the operation but the personal convictions of the adult dean.

The "Missionary Zeal Image" Schools (5.2%). This is the smallest group of the four and is also likely to be split between urban evening colleges and state extension divisions. Annual budget is higher than in the other three categories and fiscal position is extremely favorable. They have freedom to move within budgets and are able to keep surplus funds within the division; they usually have more risk capital than the other three groups. They expect strong support from the key deans, and are more apt to have a faculty training program. They have an aggressive outlook toward their communities, and receive strong support in return. They are more likely to do analyses of their student body, are interested in expanding liberal non-credit programs, and are oriented to special publics. This is the only group with a staff in liberal education. Like the public-relations schools, they are likely to have research people. The deans are likely to have come from other administrative positions in the university and to have degrees in education, which are likely to be Master's or Doctorates.

The Support of the Key Deans

The support of the deans does not seem as important to the adult division as does support of the president. When adult deans were asked to evaluate the attitudes of other deans toward the adult division, responses broke down as follows:

TABLE 24

ATTITUDES OF KEY DEANS TOWARD THEIR ADULT DIVISION

Very Enthusiastic	18.5%
Fairly Enthusiastic	47.9%
Neutral	15.9%
Skeptical	4.6%
Unfavorable	2.6%
No Answer	10.8%

The answers showed more widespread variation than in the case of the president's attitude.[3]

The attitude of the key deans can be viewed as a dependent variable. The deans seem to be more important in universities where there has been a succession of weak presidents or during an inter-regnum. Their importance is considerably diminished with a strong president and a tradition of strong departments. The adult division seems to function with the least amount of interference from the campus when there is a strong departmental set-up.

More revealing is the kind of support the adult division can expect from deans representing four specific areas in the university enterprises: Arts and Sciences, Education, Commerce, and Engineering. These four areas cover almost the total effort of any evening college or extension division.

Characteristically the adult division is formed as an extension of one of these divisions. Lack of support from any one of them usually means that faculty assistance from it is also lacking. It is here that the growth cycle of the adult division appears quite dramatically.

In the early stages of growth the dean of arts and sciences is usually strongly opposed to the adult division. This may be because of his skepticism about quality in the face of money-making pressures (a very real problem) or because of a generally conservative stance.

Usually education and commerce deans support the adult division in its early phases. The dean or director himself comes from one of these two divisions and the adult organization is likely to be the evening or extension arm of one of these two areas. Opposition is more likely to come from the dean of commerce (still only 15% support) in a state school in the early stages. More than likely, this is because of the very strong education orientation of state extension divisions.

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[3] See Appendix 4 for Profiles of Adult Divisions by Their President's View.

At any stage of the growth cycle the dean of engineering is most likely to be opposed unless the adult program has grown out of an engineering context and has an engineer in charge.

The divisions expecting support from all the deans are considerably older; the deans have been on their jobs longer, often longer than any of the other deans. These confident divisions are characterized by broader programs, bigger budgets, greater organizational complexity. Resistance from arts and sciences seems to disappear as the adult division grows older. Also arts and sciences opposition is less likely in schools that formally recognize their adult education responsibilities. Engineering opposition seems to disappear when separately organized engineering programs are set up in co-operation with the engineering school and with an engineer in charge.

The pattern of support and opposition by key deans is very interesting, but what does it tell us about liberal education programs?

A strong, vigorous liberal adult program is most likely to emerge when there is strong support from education, commerce, and liberal arts deans. Engineering support or opposition seems to make no difference. Support from education and commerce is required because these two areas represent such a heavy investment of time, effort, and resources in most evening and extension programs. It seems necessary to take care of the bread-and-butter efforts before imaginative liberal programs can be tried, although this generalization does not apply to adult divisions that offer only non-credit courses. Support from the arts and science dean is necessary (after education and commerce) because of his obvious control of liberal resources, faculty, and ideas.

The Department Heads

No questions in the Questionnaire were directed to the pattern of support by departments. The preliminary interviews indicated that this varied considerably from institution to institution; later interviewing confirmed this observation. The pattern that did emerge was what could be expected.

Departments with some contact with an adult audience (e.g., education, business administration) were more sympathetic with the resource problems of the adult division. Rarely are the department chairmen in the exact sciences interested or active in adult education. The problems here are practically insurmountable. It is difficult and expensive to duplicate laboratory facilities in an extension division or evening college and few scientists are concerned with the general educational aspects of their discipline. They are not hostile; they are simply too busy with other things.

The liberal arts department chairmen, representing the more classical fields, were also unenthusiastic, particularly during the early stages. English department chairmen showed mixed attitudes and their attitudes have special significance since an unusually high proportion of central administration personnel come from English departments. Some of the strongest supporters and most dedicated foes of adult education were English department chairmen. Local institutional history has to be consulted to explain such unusual variation. In some cases the English department chairman sees himself as the guardian of the liberal tradition and is opposed to a mishandling of this tradition, as he believes occurs in an evening or extension division. Interestingly enough, some of these implacable English department chairmen were quite willing to support non-credit experimentation and even had some ideas regarding the conduct of the experiments.

One co-operative political science chairman at a large state university tried to characterize several negative departmental views of extension: (1) a narrow philosophy of what the university is and should be doing; (2) lack or limitations of resources; and (3) resentment of anything that clutters up the job that has to be done on campus. The two extreme views are seeing campus responsibility as paramount on the one hand, and having a missionary zeal to improve the community on the other.

Several unusual situations were encountered where departmental support was strong. In several state schools, an assistant dean in the campus college also worked in the adult division. This administrator represented adult education to his campus colleagues and the campus college to the adult division. Part of his salary was paid by extension and part by his own college. The system seemed to work very effectively to implement several universities' adult education responsibilities.

Another exceptional situation occurred at an extension center of a large state university located on the same campus as one of the state colleges. The extension center pre-dated the state college by a number of years and most of the state college personnel came out of the extension center. There was high positive feeling toward extension work among deans and department heads. The second-class status of adult education was not present. This state also has an allocation system to prevent course duplications among state institutions; as a result, the extension center offers more upper-level courses than the local state college. This aids the extension division—an extension of the whole state system of higher education—because faculty members are happy to teach upper division and graduate courses at the extension center. The offerings of the local state college are considerably limited because of the state allocation system. These three situations—a split appointment between the campus college and extension; the growth of a college out of an extension center; and an atypical system of allocations—are exceptional cases.

Generally, support is positive when the university has been engaged in adult education for a number of years and many faculty members have had an opportunity to teach in adult programs. Also, where there is a history of strong departmental chairmen, the adult dean or director is much more likely to work out amicable relationships with a number of departments: he doesn't have to face the concentrated opposition of a dean functioning as a divisional representative.

The Faculty Set-Up and Liberal Adult Programming

Preliminary investigation revealed that several types of faculty arrangements are used by evening and extension divisions. The arrangements indicate the division's stage of development and its effectiveness in using the resources available to it.

The investigation also revealed the percentage of the faculty that came from the community and the percentage from the campus. The breakdowns were:

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE OF FACULTY FROM CAMPUS BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	L.A. College	Evening College	Extension Division
0-33%	10.7%	17.8%	18.8%
34-66%	21.4%	44.4%	22.9%
67-100%	50.0%	31.1%	52.1%

On the whole, evening colleges tried to hold to a 50-50 balance between campus and community, and extension divisions leaned toward a higher percentage from the campus. Percentages from the campus were generally higher for both extension and evening colleges when liberal arts faculty was used. General opinion favored a 50-50 split.

One dean of arts and sciences at a small college in a southern city agreed with his evening dean in feeling that use of community people should not go beyond 50%. Fifty per cent was viewed as the "danger point." One engineering evening school derived 75% of its evening faculty from the community. This was exceptional and was tolerated by the faculty because of the association of the university with industry and because of the trust industry placed in the evening dean. One municipal college tried to solve the problem of separateness implied in using community faculty by getting the day departments to jointly appoint part-time teachers.

Five different faculty systems were used by evening deans and extension administrators in staffing their programs:

1. 27.8% Use of faculty from the campus department at the discretion of the departmental chairman or dean.
2. 14.4% Use of extra compensation faculty for overload teaching. Responsibility for hiring and firing in the hands of the adult dean or director.
3. 11.9% Joint appointment system with specified load apportioned between the adult division and regular departments. Decision on hiring and firing shared jointly.
4. 1% Full-time adult faculty.

5. 42.8% Other or mixed systems. (Those are not included in the above choices.)

The pattern for the newer divisions in the early stages of their development was to rely largely on faculty drawn from campus or resident departments. In state schools and some smaller liberal arts colleges, quotas were assigned by the administrative leadership and depended on the rhetorical skill of the adult dean or the commitment of the university to extension. The private colleges in the early phases of growth had to persuade various faculty members or departments of their adult education responsibility.[4]

Deans and directors who relied primarily upon the regular campus faculty were least likely to have a separate administrative structure for adult work. They were least likely to have any kind of faculty meeting or training. Such divisions served late starters and remedial students primarily. They did not have any risk capital and tended to have the lowest budgets of the four groups. The president was apt to appreciate the adult operation for its money-making possibilities; day or campus dean's opposition was pronounced. Community support for the program here was likely to be minimal. The program was likely to be small and almost entirely credit, with the adult dean or director yearning for some kind of autonomy or upgrading. This group was least likely to have any future plans for liberal adult education or any kind of specific objectives elaborated for itself. The dean was likely to have a Master's degree in education or business administration and to have been on the job from 1 to 5 years.

The Extra Compensation Personnel System

The second stage of development occurs when the division has achieved a certain stability and autonomy. There is enough control over the adult division funds that day or campus faculty can be compensated for their extra teaching. But it is at this stage also that there is a strong temptation on the part of the evening or extension dean to rely heavily on community faculty members. The impulse to autonomy is strong and the problems of dealing with individual campus faculties troublesome because of their recurrent complaints about "standards."

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[4] See Appendix 4 for Profiles of Adult Divisions by Type of Faculty.

Community teachers are much easier to handle.

Schools using the extra compensation system primarily, invariably had a separate administrative structure. They usually began before 1929. Emphasis in these schools shifted from the late starters to special publics. The budget situation was more favorable here than in the earlier stage. These divisions usually had specific programming persons and a larger staff. They were also apt to have some kind of formal guiding principles for their operation. The president of the institution had a public-relations image of the adult operation (with a good number having the income image).

Members of this group inveighed strongly against the day-campus personnel system and underlined the need for autonomy. This group has yet to solve its financial problems; although budgets are high, many are not able to make up any deficits or apply surpluses by manipulating their funds. They are likely to view a deficit as catastrophic.

The deans or directors of these schools emphasized community service and had informal community support. The dean or director typically had a Bachelor's degree in a liberal arts discipline and had been on the job longer than his colleagues in the other three groups.

Joint Appointment Personnel System

The original impetus of the adult division is an upward thrust toward some kind of separation and autonomy so that it can discover its own pattern of growth. But once separation has been established, the impulse is to work more toward some kind of integration with the main campus. It is at this point that a joint appointment system is introduced.

Schools in the Integration stage tend to have a separate administrative structure and to be composed of the older divisions. They also tend to emphasize community groups as their primary audience. Teachers in this system are likely to meet more often and to be subject to some kind of faculty training for adult teaching. These divisions appear to prefer Ph.D.'s and use community faculty somewhat less than their extra compensation brethren. These schools often have a special staff person devoted to research or ideas and frequently have done analyses of their student body. They seem to fare as well as their colleagues in the budget situation, slightly better than the extra compensation group. Support from the deans is likely to be quite positive and the president characteristically sees the division in public-relations terms.

These schools tend to prefer the faculty system they have and to regard day or campus control as undesirable, the use of extra compensation personnel almost as undesirable.

The values emphasized by these schools underline intra-university relations. Paired with this is the inclination to emphasize quality of offerings as that part of the program of which they are most proud. Guiding principles have been elaborated for the division, usually in a formal way. The dean or director is likely to have a doctorate in education and to have come from some non-university education post.

Full-Time Adult Faculty System

This personnel system prevailed at only a few universities and was quite atypical, although initially the investigators speculated that this system would be a final evolution of the faculty pattern. This proved not to be the case. Many deans or directors, especially in evening colleges in an early developmental stage, smarting under departmental control, saw a full-time adult faculty as the solution to their problems. But as soon as they successfully moved away from departmental control their attitudes shifted. The worst arrangement was the full-time adult faculty according to some 19% of the respondents. State universities were more likely to view this prospect with alarm (27%) than their evening college colleagues (16.7%). The reasons are fairly obvious. Because of the space problems, it is much more difficult to sustain a full-time adult faculty in a large state extension system than in the evening college. Generally, the fear was expressed also that this arrangement would lead to further separation and divisiveness. The several divisions with full-time adult faculties were older, more complex structures. They shared most of the characteristics of the mixed group.

Mixed Faculty Systems

Again, this group had separate administrative structures and tended to be the older divisions. These divisions were found in state extension organizations more than in any of the other four groups. Staffs were larger, and there was a tendency to have research and idea persons as well as a staff in liberal adult programming. This group rarely had any adult faculty training or plans for any. Mixed faculty arrangements plus space problems seem to militate against any but the simplest kind of faculty orientation.

The schools with mixed systems emphasized special publics as their primary audience (perhaps reflecting extreme use of community faculty rather than intentional appeals to groups). They were most likely to use a high percentage of community people as faculty. Community support tended to be strong and differentiated. Support from key deans was positive and the president usually viewed the division as an equal member of the university family. These schools viewed the day or campus faculty arrangement as distasteful and thought their own system best. These divisions were favored financially, had a good deal of budget flexibility, and were most likely to have budgets exceeding two-million dollars per year. They typically had more than 10% risk capital. The deans or directors usually had doctorates in some liberal arts discipline and usually had been on the job longer than all others except the deans of the extra compensation schools.

The Faculty System and Liberal Adult Programming

The kind of faculty arrangements that prevail do not reveal anything directly about liberal adult programming. They reveal more about the evolution of the evening college or extension division. However, some correlations can be made.

Creative liberal adult programming modified for an adult clientele is least likely to emerge at institutions that use a day or campus system. A good deal of liberal arts programming does go on at these institutions but it is simply carried over from the day or campus departments.

Non-credit programming is more likely to emerge in systems that rely on extra compensation although these are not necessarily liberal. The impulse toward autonomy and the antagonism of the liberal arts division generally discourages any experimentation in liberal adult education. Where joint appointment system, full-time adult system, and a combination system are at work, the freedom and resources to set up liberal education programs exist. However, some of the largest, most influential, and most complex divisions that are using mixed systems are doing practically nothing in liberal adult education. Again, the orientation of the dean or director seems to be the critical factor in these instances. The adult dean has the most control over his own faculty in the mixed system divisions. Liberal adult education seems to thrive under this arrangement.

Faculty Committees

Observations by the investigators indicated that faculty advisory committees are very effective in suggesting programs and mobilizing faculty support for adult programs. However, these committees seemed to function differently depending on who set them up. The aims of the research were (a) to check the hypothesis that faculty advisory committees are associated with good programs, and (b) to explore how they work.

Most of the divisions in the sample indicated that they did have advisory committees from the faculty:

TABLE 26

FACULTY ADVISORY COMMITTEE BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	Liberal Arts College	Total
Yes	52.2%	68.7%	35.7%	51.5%
No	43.3%	31.2%	57.1%	44.3%
No Answer	4.4%	-	7.1%	4.1%

Extension divisions were more likely than evening colleges to have faculty advisory committees, and both were more inclined in this direction than the liberal arts colleges. Generally, schools that did not have separate faculty advisory committees were the newest arrivals to university adult education and tended to be private and church-related colleges rather than state. They had all of the characteristics of the adult division in the early stages of growth: tight budget, small staff, little university acceptance.

Schools that did have committees were just the opposite: large, diversified organizations with relatively strong support from the university and in a favored position financially.

Further questioning about the source of appointment to the faculty committee revealed something about committee operation:

TABLE 27

HOW MEMBERS ARE APPOINTED TO FACULTY ADVISORY COMMITTEES BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	Liberal Arts College
Adult Dean or Director	14.4%	8.3%	10.7%
President of University	24.4%	43.7%	16.1%
Resident Departments	3.3%	2.0%	-
Other	10.0%	12.5%	8.9%
Not Applicable	43.3%	33.3%	55.3%
No Answer	4.4%	-	8.9%

In this connection also, an initial prediction of the investigators was erroneous. It was expected that a committee set up at the behest of the president would surely be a "watch dog" committee. This was not the case.

In state schools it is usually the president who appoints committee members, taking into consideration the adult dean's recommendations, and he does so as an expression of the university's formal commitment to adult education. In the private schools the adult dean makes the appointments, choosing a committee composed of friends within the university. (This practice reflects an early stage of growth). The committee appointed by the president seems to function more effectively.

Initially, the university president was assumed to be the most important single person in the success of the adult division. His role with respect to faculty advisory committees is another illustration of his influence. In appointing committee members, the president "legitimizes" the adult program and confirms its emergence into another and more advanced stage in its own growth cycle.

A significant side effect of the faculty advisory committee itself is that its members frequently develop a constructive interest in the problems and possibilities of adult education. This is most noticeable when a university reorganization is occurring and the faculty committee is asked for recommendations. Boston and North Carolina Universities are outstanding examples.

Contrariwise, schools without faculty advisory committees are less active in liberal adult programming.

University Acceptance of Adult Education and the Growth Cycle

Strong support by the president, key deans, and department heads is most likely to occur at the later stages of the adult division's growth. If the function has generally been accepted as a legitimate one by the university for some time, then this serves to sustain the adult program and support the adult dean's liberal education efforts.

The faculty system that a particular division uses is another index of its stage of development. Complex personnel systems are used more often by the older divisions. Simple control by day or campus departments is the norm for divisions in the early stages of growth.

TABLE 28

UNIVERSITY ACCEPTANCE AND THE GROWTH CYCLE

	Departmental Domination	Autonomous Development	Integration	Assimilation
President's view of adult education	Daytime-at-night or money-making image	Partly money-making view, partly P.R., sometimes combined	Acceptance as equal members of university family	Combination of acceptance as equal member of university family and missionary zeal
Key deans	Support of Education & Commerce deans, not arts & science or Engineering	Support of Educ. and Comm. deans, not arts & sciences or Engineering	Support of all the deans	Support of all the deans, with a small minority of arts & science deans opposed
Faculty system	Primarily under departmental control	Primarily extra-compensation system	Primarily joint-appointment system	Diversified faculty arrangements
Faculty advisory committee	No faculty advisory committee	Watchdog faculty advisory committee	Faculty advisory committee appointed by the president	Widespread use of faculty advisory committees

THE COMMUNITY CONTEXT OF THE ADULT PROGRAM

The kind of community in which the university functions definitely imposes some limitations on the programs that are developed. Several observations were made that related to the effect of the community on the adult division and its liberal adult program.

1. The development of a constituency for liberal adult education is partially dependent on the dean or director's membership in local groups. The more local business groups, professional societies, and voluntary associations he belongs to in his role as educator, the more favorable will be the situation for liberal adult education. (This assumes that pro-liberal education convictions are held by the dean.)

2. Support for liberal adult education is partially dependent on the amount of community support there is for the rest of the adult program. The more community support, the more likelihood that liberal education efforts will be sustained.

3. The competitive picture in the community in relation to university adult education determines to a certain extent how much liberal education is offered. To the extent that an adult division is the only agency of its kind in the community, the possibilities for a greater distribution or effort in liberal adult education increase.

Membership in Local Groups

Deans or directors who belonged to local professional societies, to other voluntary organizations, or to no organizations were generally connected with adult divisions in early stages of growth. Those who belonged to local industrial organizations and combinations of groups were connected with large, diversified adult division.

Amount of Community Support

Several types of community support were distinguished: informal support of the adult program mainly through personal contacts of the

TABLE 29

MEMBERSHIP IN COMMUNITY GROUPS BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	L.A. College	Total
Local Business Groups	3.3%	4.1%	10.7%	5.7%
Local Professional Societies	12.2%	6.2%	5.4%	8.8%
Local Industrial Organizations	1.1%	-	-	.5%
Other Voluntary Organizations	4.4%	22.9%	8.9%	10.3%
Combinations	54.4%	47.9%	30.3%	45.8%
None	8.9%	-	12.5%	7.7%
No Answer	15.6%	18.7%	32.1%	21.1%

adult dean with community members; separate advisory committees for specific programs; overall advisory committees to the adult division; combinations of the others. The most complex kind of support was a combination of the three and usually was characteristic of the older more diversified adult units. The relationship to liberal adult education was not direct. Again the key element in the situation was the adult dean. If he was favorably disposed toward liberal adult education, a complex kind of community support operated favorably in its development. If he wasn't, no amount of community support for the adult division seemed to encourage liberal adult programming. Overall advisory committees functioned to protect the adult division and seemed disadvantageous to liberal education growth. This is probably because their specific interest was not in liberal education but in vocational or professional education.

The Competitive Picture

The geographical area that the division conceives of as its service area should also tell something about how it relates to its community and what segment it sees as important. The response here was not revealing. Most university or college adult divisions take a mechanical approach and use the boundaries of the state, or draw a circle around the university extending as far as 100 miles, and designate that as their "community."

The division of labor that universities work out informally with each other in their adult programs does give certain outlines to the offerings. The investigators were interested in examining just how this competition works. (This will be developed further below.)

The interviewing touched on one general area: the effect of the community as one force in shaping the division and the program. A number of points emerged relating to special community influences on the university and on the adult division specifically: space problems posed by a community or region; industrial and business influences; the "character" of a city; and regional accrediting bodies.

Problems of Geography

Universities in cities face problems quite different from those faced by isolated ones. The city institution must work out an acceptable pattern of activity in the face of other competing organizations. The isolated university, usually a state institution, has to solve the problems of space. Two general groupings of isolated universities were noted:[1] First, those with a widely scattered, largely rural population. (Kansas, Mississippi, and North Carolina are examples.) Second, those in industrialized states dotted with large population centers. (Pennsylvania and Ohio are instances.)

States with a widely scattered population can develop a system of centers, as in Mississippi, following the Alabama pattern. Another approach is the "field work" pattern, which is used by most state universities, but this approach is more exclusively relied upon by states whose population resources are scarce (e.g., Kansas). At the same time, however, interviewers also noticed a pattern at several state universities in large states to pull back from the "field work" approach. Here the argument was that the communication possible

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1. Bernard James, University Adult Education in the Arts (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1958) mimeo, p. 7. The author suggests that three alternatives have been open to the universities attempting to meet the obstacles of communication and geography to extension education. (1) They can establish field bases (the "center system") out in the state. This requires the existence of some population centers worth the effort. (2) They can provide teaching and service on a field circuit basis. (3) They can employ teachers and specialists already living "in the field" at communities distant from the campus.

through radio and television was creating a new situation and a new audience; it seems that "the state is our campus" idea is being muted.

Actually, the emphasis in these institutions in large states was on survival: a field system is expensive and carries little prestige within the university system; evening classes and conferences, preferably in a new continuation center, constitute a better use of resources and carry more weight on the campus.

In industrial states, the pattern is more likely to be a system of centers or satellite colleges located in population centers. The use of field workers is less likely and the use of community specialists is limited. It should be pointed out, however, that most state universities use all three systems. The question is one of emphasis.

Extension's solution to the problem of space does not relate directly to liberal adult programming. Scattered citizens in a rural state may hamper any kind of sustained attempts at liberal education because of the resource problem, but a system of centers can be as stifling because the branches concentrate on day undergraduates.

One creative program in a prairie state used a traveling art gallery to better effect than a gigantic eastern extension division with huge resources used its system of centers. The dean involved said:

> . . . we have developed in it a way of providing for a real backwoods area a great amount of stimulation and experience that adds to their life. This is an area in which there is no place to go to get this kind of cultural experience. Denver or Kansas City are the nearest places. The arts are non-existent in the great plains when you consider the basic conditions of life: recurrent droughts, unstable crops, small towns—all these things are not conducive to keeping cultural elements in the area, nor to the kind of communities in which people can get culture. We have provided, on an economic basis, real stimulation for these people.

More directly influencing the program is the division of labor that the state universities work out with other public and private institutions in their states.

The private evening college is usually located in a city, or at least on the fringes of one. In a city there are many potential teachers and students. The market is diversified and concentrated. The problem here is that competition for the adult's attention is much more intense. Where space is the problem for the state university, competition is the problem for the private university: In the first instance, how-to-reach the adult literally; in the second instance, how-to-reach the adult figuratively!

Division of Labor

The State University. The most dramatic factor shaping extension division programs is the allocation system in effect when there is more than one state university. A land-grant college in one of the plains states emphasizes agriculture and related areas and leaves the bulk of the humanities and graduate work to the other large state university. The dean commented on this division of labor:

> In those functions which are unique to ______, we regard the whole state as our service area. This would include things like Home Economics, Veterinarian Medicine and a few others. But if it's a course in History, any one of the five state institutions might do it, so if we get a request for a course of that kind and the request comes from a community which is closer to one of the other state institutions we'll call them and ask them whether they want to do it or if they don't want to, get their permission for us to do it. I don't mean that we've formally divided up the state into areas, this is just a matter of duplication of effort.

One would expect liberal adult education to flourish in a setting where a humanities emphasis prevails, rather than an agricultural emphasis.

In other states the system of allocation has not yet been finally worked out. In some of these states there is bitter conflict for funds between state institutions. (The land-grant colleges fare much better in this kind of situation. They have an articulate core of supporters in the state legislature. They also have federal funds.) Liberal education is jettisoned by all parties to the conflict: it is expensive, it carries little prestige, and it is of little use in power politicking.

The arrangements worked out between state and private universities are different. Large state universities with imperialistic bents have been successful in a number of instances in curbing private expansion. A number of urban private universities in an eastern state have collaborated to keep the state university out of all major cities of the state. Usually more informal cooperative arrangements are in effect. The state university may agree to stay out of cities where one or several private colleges are functioning. This has occurred to a certain extent in Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana.

The Private University. Most of the well organized and complex divisions have grown in a setting where competition was not strong. Exceptions to this are found in the larger cities where the various evening colleges have worked out an informal division of labor that assigns each one a portion of the total audience.[2] One eastern school expanded outside its city limits with an extension division in the face of strong competition within the urban center. This was possible because of the absence of large state universities in the region. Another university in Pennsylvania also developed within a 100-mile radius a system of centers similar to a state extension division. These centers have been abandoned within the past twenty years because of the growth of an aggressive, vigorous state university extension division.

Liberal adult education seems to be affected by the manner in which the pie is sliced. If the adult division has cultivated an audience interested in "culture" and sees itself in that role, then liberal adult programming flourishes. If it has not, then little more than daytime liberal arts courses at night are offered, even though creative vocational efforts may be sustained.

The Character of the City

No specific hypotheses were formulated about how the nature of the city shapes the private university's program. However, several observations can be made.

Programs are necessarily geared to the demands of an adult clientele. Heavily industrial communities reflect this economic base in their evening college offerings. University towns seem to be more favorably disposed to adult liberal education and have a constituency for it. Cities with large government populations (Washington, D. C.; Austin, Texas) showed up no better than their industrial counterparts in liberal adult programming. One seeming disadvantage to the liberal content of the program was the presence of the university in the state capitol. No firm generalizations are possible on this point, however, because of the absence of sufficient representation in the sample of universities located in state capitols.

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[2] The city of Chicago is an interesting example. One university administrator in the Chicago area stated: "To the extent that any generalizations are possible, Northwestern gets a Protestant, white-collar, loop-worker group; Loyola gets Irish Catholics with professional aspirations; DePaul gets the Polish and non-Irish Catholic group; Roosevelt is a 'minority university'; the University of Chicago gets the upper-middle class elite."

A more decisive determinant in liberal adult program possibilities seemed to be the educational level of the citizenry. The dean of one eastern university boasted of having proportionally more Ph.D.'s in his city than any other city in the U. S.:

> The ______ community is of a very high level. There are many Ph.D.'s here and many skilled workers. There is always a great deal going on in ______ which the university need not do nor can it improve upon what is already going on—lecture series and concerts of the cultural type, for instance.

This meant that other cultural agencies in the community (museums, libraries, concerts) were also supported well.

Participation in university adult education is related to social class. Generally adult education participants are members of the middle class. (Income has been widely reported as significantly associated with formal participation in voluntary associations.[3]) These participants are exposed to a number of media for the diffusion of knowledge. They are more apt to be active users of the library, museums, and the media of mass communications. Lipset and Gordon also confirm the findings of other studies of voluntary associations; i.e., membership in voluntary organizations (including university adult education) is related to socio-economic status.[4] Semi-skilled and unskilled workers who have less than a high-school education are much less likely to participate in voluntary associations than their better educated brethren. Participation in associations seems to be related to attitudes toward education in general. An NORC survey conducted in 1947 asked questions about how much schooling young men need these days to get along well in the world.[5] Whatever measures of stratification were employed, the lower-income groups emphasized college training much less.

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[3] Mirra Kommarovsky, "The Voluntary Association of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, December, 1946; Herbert Goldhamer, Some Factors Affecting Participation in Voluntary Associations, Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1945; Floyd Dotson, "Voluntary Associations Among Urban Working Class Families," American Sociological Review, October, 1951.

[4] Seymour Lipset and Joan Gordon, "Mobility and Trade Union Membership" in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, Class Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953).

[5] National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A

At one southern university the provost in charge of academic departments felt that the absence of a large middle class did affect the kind of program that was developed. There was no special liberal programming and the only kind of liberal effort that could be sustained was the degree credit kind:

> The rather anonymous power elite which is present in Pittsburgh in the Duquesne Club and in other Northern cities is absent here. There is almost no middle class in the city. It is just beginning to emerge but the old aristocracy still dominate the community.

This situation could be contrasted with a midwestern city where liberal adult program possibilities appeared to be quite limited because of the character of the city. The dean, after commenting on how difficult it was to sell general education courses stated:

> It's more difficult here in ______ because it's a newer town. It's a cow town. The old families don't have the background of giving to the university as in the east. It's all new wealth here. We'll have the hardest trouble with liberal arts education for the business men—they are very conservative here.

The city described here is an inland city with no sharp ethnic divisions such as are found in eastern cities. The city is a second settlement community "remarkably uneven in civic competence," as one commentator put it.

The dean of faculties at one eastern university also explained the lack of liberal adult programming in terms of the composition of the city.

> ______ is composed of about 40-50% recent European peasant stock, who know nothing of education generally—did not take it in their own countries, let alone American education. But when they think of education, it is in terms of degrees and professions, and we have a hard time trying to sell them anything else . . . I've always had a strong feeling for the adult programs, but there has always been too much of a vocational emphasis predominant in the offerings, because the immigrants of peasant stock were sure they had to prepare for vocations, professions.

Briefly, then, the one single important factor in determining whether a community will support and encourage liberal adult pro-

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Popular Evaluation" in Bendix and Lipset, *ibid*.

gramming is not the size of the city, its location, or its nationality composition. The educational level of the citizens of the community affects most decisively the ability of a university to sustain liberal adult programs.

Business and Industrial Influences

No specific hypotheses were formulated regarding the influence of local industrial and business interests on the growth of university adult education or its ultimate relation to liberal adult education. This material emerged during the interviewing. The influences were direct and sufficiently significant to report. Indirect influences that reflect the community's economic orientation (such as heavy business and vocational programming) are not included.

One middle-sized eastern state university had most of its buildings donated by a large chemical firm. Respondents within the university indicated that the institution's past history, present emphasis, and future development could not be detailed without reference to this chemical industry. The chemistry and other basic science departments of the main university are considered first rate, and the largest single group of students in university extension is the chemists. During World War II, this chemical firm gave money to university extension to set up classes throughout the state. In response to a question concerning the effect of this chemical empire on the character of the university and extension, the director stated:

> The physical plant on which the university is located, both land and building represents donations from the "X" family members or top executives in the "XYZ" complex.[6] Further, the company fosters continuing education as a policy and in the case of job-related undergraduate level courses will subsidize tuition if the students pass the course.

Because of the support given by this company and the enrollment boom after the Korean War, the extension division was firmly established with a full-time director. Prior to 1950 it was coordinated by a part-time administrator. The dean of engineering on the main campus stated:

> During the War years "XYZ" had a special program for three years where they gave money directly to the Extension Division to

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[6] Respondent requested anonymity.

set up classes. That ended but the Extension Division has gone on growing.

The effect on university extension is to give the offerings a heavy industrial orientation (with specific focus on—yes, chemistry). Students are mainly employees of the chemical company, as are the part-time teachers. Liberal adult education is inhibited along with non-credit work in general. The director, however, thought otherwise:

> The influence on liberal education [of the chemical company] is indirect; the company employs a high percentage of people with advanced degrees in mathematics, chemistry, etc., and these people make good salaries and are often good candidates for liberal education or at least for programs outside of their original field.

A camera company strongly influenced the program at another private university in a middle-sized city. The direct effect of a large donation given by the company in 1916 was a heavier concentration in the sciences in the day curriculum, and evening classes were set up for upgrading the firm's personnel. The largest group in the evening school is employees of the local camera company. Again the company has a tuition payment plan. In 1932, when the president and founder of the camera company died, he added 19 million dollars to the main university's endowment, making it one of the wealthiest institutions in the country. (It stood fourth among all privately-controlled universities at that time.) Here the effect of industrial influence was to underline the importance of credit work. Liberal education has not developed at the school outside the credit and degree framework. The heavy endowments, however, enabled the university as a whole to build a high-quality faculty. The evening college has shared in this development: the evening program is considered by the faculty within the university, and by articulate critics within the community, to be of exceptional quality.

A clearer example of some of the side effects of a basic industry on adult education was apparent at a large state university. The dean stated:

> Well, I don't suppose I'm telling you anything new. This is a [basic industry] state. It controls the state. There are 16 of the 31 state senators who are considered [the industry] senators. It's no secret. The industry has to protect itself so it puts up $150,000 to elect a majority of senators. That's how much it costs to run a campaign.

Further questioning on what relation this industry had to the extension division, apart from running programs for them, brought out the following:

> I had submitted a budget [a number of years ago] and it was returned to me with a directive from the governor that all state budgets were to be cut 25%. I was supposed to pare it down and send it back in. I was just going off to a meeting of [this] industry in New Orleans. . . . During the meeting one of the training directors mentioned how much he hoped we would be able to do for them the following year. I told him we wouldn't be able to do anything because of the order to cut budgets. He seemed shocked and asked me to wait a minute. He went into the next room and made a long distance call. I don't know who he talked to, but when he came back in he said, 'You go back and send in your budget exactly as you had it before.' I did that and I was the only state department that didn't get cut that year.

This basic industry plays the role of protector of extension at this university; it protects extension from antagonists within the university system. The extension division has also elaborated a series of lay advisory groups designed to generate community involvement. The product comes into the picture here also:

> Then as I mentioned previously we have the system of lay advisory boards. There are a number of state senators on these boards. And on our overall advisory boards we have three ex-state senators who are in [this] industry—they are rampant for extension education. I worry about them—afraid they'll get out of hand. On one of our advisory committees we have a member of our board of regents.

This dean was plagued by overzealous friends: he apparently had done his job of conversion only too well. The overall effect of this industry on liberal education has been deleterious. The overwhelming emphasis is on credit programs and on non-credit conferences and institutes with vocational content.

To summarize, this kind of industrial or business influence definitely shapes the program; it usually is not favorable to the growth of liberal adult programs and has a tendency to build up and protect that part of the university which services it.

Regional Accrediting Groups

A whole story could be written on the effect of accrediting associations on university life in general. Their influence on evening or extension education is less obvious but equally as real.

The Middle States Association can recommend reorganizations (for example, that a professional school be separated from the evening college), changes in programs, and adjustments in the use of campus faculty.

The Southern Accrediting Association places limitations on faculty time and restricts the number of extension hours that can be applied to a degree. This functioned to limit one southern extension division's growth, as illustrated in the following excerpt from a report by the director to the Board of Trustees of the State Department of Higher Learning:

> The Southern Association of College and Secondary Schools Limit on Teaching Load: If faculty members are not allowed to go beyond the maximum load of sixteen hours per week, this limit will automatically cut down the amount of faculty time available for extension teaching. Although a young instructor might be allowed to supplement his income by extension teaching without harm to his regular classes, colleges accredited by the Southern Association are bound by the teaching load standard.

The report also elaborates on the limitation imposed on the number of extension hours that can be applied to a degree.

The foregoing example was noted during an interview. However, little evidence was available from either the Questionnaire or the other interviews on the overall effect of accrediting associations. This area was not the central focus of the research; nor was it listed by the respondents or interviewees as a major force in shaping the programming of their adult divisions. However, further investigations of the role accrediting associations have played in the development of the evening college or extension division may be helpful in defining their impact. Certainly they have at least set some of the limits within which the problems of university adult education are stated. (See Table 30.)

TABLE 30

COMMUNITY INFLUENCES AND THE GROWTH CYCLE

	Departmental Domination	Autonomy	Integration	Assimilation
Geographical location and service area	Cities under 500,000 and rural states	Cities over 500,000 and rural states	Split between large cities & diversified states	Split between large cities & diversified states
Business & industrial influences	Little or none except indirectly	Contacts with specific businesses and industries	Special programs for a variety of company personnel	Widespread programming and involvement of company personnel as teachers, advisors, etc.
Influence of accrediting bodies in relation to attitudes in adult division	Affects adversely the growth of non-credit programs	Programs developed without reference to accrediting bodies	Increased concern with quality, standards, use of campus personnel, etc.	Lack of preoccupation with the whole problem of accreditation

THE ADULT DEAN OR DIRECTOR

Hypotheses Relating to the Adult Dean or Director

A series of hypotheses were developed that tried to relate a number of the characteristics of the adult dean or director to his program. These characteristics were: the subject-matter training of the dean, his educational attainment, his career line, his length of time on the job, and his attitudes toward liberal education for adults. More specifically, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. Liberal education programming is partly related to the dean's own educational background. Training in a liberal arts discipline is directly related to the amount and effectiveness of liberal adult education.

2. The more education the adult dean has, the more favorable he is likely to be to adult liberal education.

3. The career line of the dean affects his convictions about liberal education and is positively related to the amount and nature of liberal adult education.

   a) Those who view their post as one step in a career that leads to other administrative posts within the university system will more likely be concerned with credit and degree offerings in liberal arts.

   b) Those who have a commitment to university adult education as a career will be more likely to support and develop non-credit liberal adult education.

4. Length of time on the job is also related to liberal adult programming. If the dean or director has been on the job from 5 to 10 years he is more likely to develop and sustain liberal adult programs than either the newcomers (0-5 years) or the old timers (over 10 years).

5. The dean's orientation and attitudes are related directly to the

amount and nature of liberal adult programming.

a) If the dean is interested primarily in remedial work, then non-credit liberal education will languish.

b) If the dean is primarily interested in serving the community's needs, then liberal adult education programs will fare well only if the educational level of the community is high (i.e., only if the community "needs" it).

c) If the dean is primarily interested in serving special adult publics who are not interested only in degree or credit requirements, then the climate for liberal adult programming is favorable and more effort will be devoted to it.

d) The attitudes toward liberal adult education vary in intensity from the conviction that it is the least important task to the view that it is the single most important task of the adult division. These attitudes are directly related to the amount of liberal education presently being offered and to actual plans underway for future liberal education programs.

Throughout the preceding chapters of this section, the path of the various and diverse forces sustaining the present development of liberal adult education has been traced. At the end of the path, the forces leveled off and the investigators were confronted with considerations of emphasis, or orientation, or personal conviction. At this point the adult dean or director emerged as the figure who molds the other forces and gives them their cohesion in terms of liberal adult programming. The research was, therefore, vitally concerned with the adult division dean or director.

Personal Data

Instruments were designed to show if the deans or directors were born in the United States, what generation they were, what nationality backgrounds they represented, and what their fathers' occupations were. Generally, the responses here were predictable: The administrators were overwhelmingly American-born, as were their parents and grandparents. Again overwhelmingly, the respondents identified their national origin as the British Isles or Northwest Europe. Religious affiliations revealed some slight differences. A majority of the administrators were Protestants, especially in the extension division. Roman Catholic, Jewish, or "other" (no religious affiliation, usually) respondents were more likely to be in urban evening colleges. The question about father's occupation was an attempt to isolate social-class origin. The largest group came from the middle-class business ranks. Such professionals or semi-professionals as there were, were low status or low income with business backgrounds. Academic backgrounds were rare, even more rare for evening college deans than for extension directors. The picture that emerged is of people on the move: a business background plus urges to academic dignity. The exception is the farmer group, which is relatively high in extension.

Summary. The general pattern of personal characteristics again breaks down by extension divisions and urban evening colleges. The state extension directors are "old" Americans with Protestant affiliations and small-town or rural backgrounds. The picture of the urban evening college dean is more complex, and as a group they are more diverse. There are more recent Americans and a wider variation in religious affiliations among urban evening college deans. Typically, they come from urban backgrounds. The evidence seems to confirm stereotypes that have been built up: the "city slicker" in the evening college as contrasted with the "farm boy" in extension.

Field of Specialization

Generally, deans or directors came from the fields of education or liberal arts. Few came from agriculture or engineering (see Table 31). Most respondents had their doctorates in these fields.

The field of specialization to a certain extent also reflects the emphasis in programming. A great part of the work done by state extension divisions for the past forty years has been with teachers. It is not surprising, therefore, to see such a large percentage of state extension deans coming from schools or departments of education. The heavy liberal arts background of the evening college deans is also a reflection of their program and their previous academic post: a high percentage of evening college administrators have come from liberal arts faculties. Evening college respondents are a little more likely to have come from the field of business administration than their extension counterparts. This again is related to the heavy concentration of busi-

TABLE 31

FIELD OF SPECIALIZATION BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	L. A. College	Total
Agriculture	-	2.0%	-	.5%
Business Administration	7.7%	4.1%	1.7%	5.2%
Engineering	3.3%	4.1%	-	2.6%
Education	26.6%	58.3%	23.2%	33.5%
Liberal Arts	51.1%	20.8%	60.7%	46.4%
Other	1.1%	4.0%	-	1.5%
No Answer	10.0%	6.2%	14.2%	10.3%

ness administration programs in evening colleges.

The big difference between evening and extension personnel, as is revealed in Table 31, was in their specialization fields as between education and liberal arts. Although the attitudes toward liberal education programming and amount of liberal education activity is not simply associated with the field of specialization, it is a fact that three of the four deans and directors at the "model" schools were from the liberal arts discipline. By and large, however, the deans of the big adult divisions with diversified programs and favorable financing have strong convictions about liberal education and are actually doing something, irrespective of their fields of specialization. There does seem to be a sharper correlation between field of specialization and plans for program innovations.

The Adult Administrator's Career Line

Administrators do not usually have training in adult education. Instead, they come from teaching a subject specialty or from administrative posts within the university (see Table 32).

Evening college administrators are more likely to come from regular faculty (and may go back after a period of evening deaning). Extension directors are more apt to come from other posts in university administration or from lower-level education, generally secondary-school administration. The question of whether there is a career in

TABLE 32

PREVIOUS JOBS BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	L. A. College	Total
Not Applicable (Jesuits)	12.2%	-	21.4%	11.9%
University Administration	22.2%	39.5%	10.7%	23.2%
University Faculty	35.6%	14.5%	32.1%	29.4%
None	3.3%	4.1%	1.7%	3.1%
Industry or Government	5.6%	8.3%	3.4%	5.7%
Lower Level Education	8.9%	20.8%	5.4%	10.8%
Other	3.3%	-	1.7%	2.1%
No Answer	8.9%	12.5%	23.2%	13.9%

university adult education can be partly answered by noting what happened to the predecessors of the present deans and directors:

TABLE 33

FATE OF PREDECESSOR BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	L. A. College	Total
None	13.3%	12.5%	12.5%	12.9%
Retired	7.8%	33.3%	7.5%	13.9%
Other University Posts	54.5%	39.5%	44.6%	47.9%
Business	6.7%	6.2%	1.7%	5.2%
Government	2.2%	2.0%	-	1.5%
Other	10.0%	4.1%	19.6%	11.3%
No Answer	5.6%	2.0%	14.3%	7.2%

Those who had no predecessors were associated with the recently established divisions. The fairly large percentage of extension directors who were retired suggests the stability of the extension post. Evening college deans, by design, appear more likely to move on to other administrative posts within the university. A fairly high percentage of extension directors also move on to other university positions.

Time on the job gives us a clearer picture of the career line:

TABLE 34

TIME ON JOB BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	L. A. College	Total
0-5	60.0%	39.5%	51.7%	52.5%
6-10	25.5%	20.8%	26.7%	24.7%
11-15	11.1%	25.0%	8.9%	13.9%
16-20	1.1%	4.1%	1.7%	2.1%
More than 20	-	10.4%	1.7%	3.1%
No Answer	2.2%	-	8.9%	3.1%

A majority of evening college deans spend from one to five years in their jobs. The overwhelming majority have spent from one to ten years on the job (85%). The extension picture contrasts sharply. Almost 40% have been on the job for more than 10 years. Another 10% have been on the job more than 20 years. This is partially related to the age of the adult division: the more recently formed divisions had a higher percentage of deans and directors in the 0-5 category (59.3%) than the older divisions (45.4%). The majority of divisions begun before 1929 had directors with more than 5 years on the job.

The picture is of a more stable and fixed career line in general extension than in the evening colleges. Extension directors are for the most part trained in education; they plan to go into the educational field; they come from administrative positions and stay considerably longer on the job.

Attitudes Toward Liberal Education

Field of specialization, national background, religious affiliation, and social-class origins of the adult administrator revealed no clear-cut relationship to vigorous active liberal adult programming.

It seems clear, however, that attitudes toward liberal education affect what is done: the personal feelings of the dean about his own program and his program plans make a difference. One can assume that insofar as the dean or director has a choice, his attitude toward liberal education is of critical importance. A number of items in the Questionnaire were designed to pick out the range of orientations to liberal education that exist among adult administrators. To what degree do they express sympathy with the idea of increased liberalization? To what degree do they see it as a goal to which other ends might have to be sacrificed? The questionnaire contained two items devised to measure this attitude:

TABLE 35

PRIDE IN PROGRAM—EMPHASIS OF ADULT DEAN BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	L. A. College	Total
Credit Offerings	17.8%	10.4%	17.8%	16.0%
Experimental Non-Credit	7.8%	8.3%	-	5.7%
Quality	17.8%	4.1%	5.4%	10.8%
Quantity	5.6%	12.5%	5.4%	7.2%
Service	12.2%	12.5%	17.8%	13.9%
Other	8.9%	10.4%	3.4%	7.7%
No Answer	30.0%	41.6%	50.0%	38.6%

TABLE 36

GENERAL PROGRAM PLANS BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	L. A. College	Total
Expansion of Offerings	23.3%	33.3%	10.7%	22.2%
Physical Expansion	15.6%	20.8%	14.3%	16.5%
Standards	1.1%	-	1.7%	1.0%
Innovation	8.9%	8.3%	1.7%	6.2%
No Changes	14.4%	8.3%	17.8%	3.1%
No Answer	34.4%	22.9%	53.5%	37.1%

The big flaw in the response (and more than likely in the construction of the questions) is the large percentage of "no answers" returned. These tables, therefore, should be interpreted with caution.

However, the innovators can be isolated to develop a picture of where they are likely to be and of how this is related to other attitudes and actual program activity. The innovators were most likely to have research people (to the tune of 50% as compared with 12% for the total) and a liberal education program staff. They were more likely than their colleagues to be critical of their present structure and most likely to have a president who had a "missionary zeal" for adult education. They were interested in developing special adult audiences for their programs and were likely to have done some studies of their student bodies. They were in a very favorable position financially as they had considerable budget flexibility, had higher budgets than their colleagues, and had 10% more risk capital. They were likely to be trained in liberal arts and to have doctorates. The innovator was just as likely to be an evening college dean as an extension director.

A further query was directed to plans the respondents had that bore on liberal education. Here, the percentage of "no answers" was considerably reduced and a more favorable situation from the investigators' point of view was revealed:

TABLE 37

LIBERAL EDUCATION PLANS BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	L. A. College	Total
No Plans	35.6%	22.9%	58.9%	39.1%
Yes, Credit Plans	18.9%	18.7%	16.1%	18.0%
Yes, Non-Credit Plans	26.7%	41.6%	14.3%	26.8%
No Answer	18.9%	16.6%	10.7%	16.0%

The surprise here is the high percentage that chose non-credit offerings. This may be a distorted response because of the recognition by the respondents that this represents a desirable path in the investigators' view.

A Suggested Typology of Adult Administrators

Analysis of the material on attitudes toward liberal education in the Questionnaire and in the interviews suggested a typology of adult administrators that seemed to be ultimately decisive in determining liberal adult programming. The investigators were convinced that this was a fruitful insight and had a wide variety of applications within the university system. The dimensions suggested in the typology could not be resolved into the other characteristics of the respondent but seemed to be a part of his self-conception: the kind of a person he saw himself as, his view of his job, and his view of his style of administration.

The Scholar. This is the respondent who has been trained in a liberal arts discipline, usually has a doctorate, and sees his present post as a temporary one. He usually comes from a faculty and longs to return. He is interested in quality offerings and standards. The locally oriented scholar has a very limited view of what he should be doing. He primarily emphasizes work with a remedial public. The sophisticated scholar feels his inadequacies keenly and would like to do more but he doesn't know how.

The Businessman. This administrator is more likely to appear in an evening college and usually, though not necessarily, comes from a business administration background. He does not have a doctorate. He may be naive or sophisticated. The naive businessman is simply a salesman, usually selling to business groups. The sophisticated business type is a "merchandiser" and has a wider vision of his consuming public—the key being his perception of his customers and the products he is selling. His language is saturated with business terminology: "consumers," "selling," "packaging," "I'll buy that." Essentially, this is a way of looking at the job rather than identifying a particular public. In other words, business types are not just oriented to the business community.

The Social Worker. This administrator usually comes from the field of education. He is more likely to appear in extension divisions than in the evening colleges. If he has a doctorate, he is more likely to have broader loyalties than if he does not. If local, he generally has a religious fervor concerning his community and its "needs," although in practice this works out to "giving them what they want." The sophisticated social worker type has a clearer picture of his response to community needs. He is more selective in reacting to local demands. Again the language used here suggests the outlook. Social workers talk a good deal about the "community," "wants," "needs," and usually have a strong interest in counseling and guidance. Essentially, their interest is in adjusting the individual to the social order as it is. The emphasis of the social worker would vary depending on what the community was like, what it needed. In one instance, the approach would be the vocational upgrading of individuals; in another setting, the approach would be a community development one. The recognition of liberal education needs depends on the character of the community—whether they are "ready" for it.

The Civil Service Administrator. This dean was rare. He was usually an oldtimer and locally oriented. His training was apt to be in engineering, higher education administration, or public administration. He was not likely to have a doctorate. His preoccupation was with his division and his university as a hydraulic system. He was quite rules-conscious and talked about "flow," "blockage," and the like. He was interested in expanding his operation—especially the physical plant. This administrator presided over a bureaucracy characterized by many meetings, forms, memos, elaborate regulations, and protocol. There was much concern with channels of communication. The theme coming through the interviews is one of efficiency. The dean sees himself as an efficiency expert or time-and-motion-study man.

These administrative self-conceptions did not exhaust the range of attitudes toward liberal adult education. A further aspect of this attitude was disclosed in analyzing the dean's reference groups, which gave a picture of the personal involvement he had in his work.

The Adult Dean's Reference Groups

In the preliminary interviewing the investigators ascertained that adult administrators tended to identify characteristically with several different groups: with the local community, with the university, or with colleagues all over the country. This emerged by noting how often the respondent went to meetings, which meetings they were, his friendship circle, the committees served on, and the like. Concern for reference groups was included in the questionnaire as follows:

> Most adult administrators try to balance their time equitably between community, university, faculty, and colleague obligations. But in your case which would you say are most important when you are forced to choose—please rank the following (1,2,3, etc.).

TABLE 38

FIRST RESPONSIBILITY OF ADULT DEAN BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	L. A. College	Total
My responsibility to the local community	6.7%	14.5%	5.4%	3.2%
My responsibility to the administrative need of college or university	65.6%	68.7%	41.0%	59.2%
My responsibility to the faculty and academic tradition of the university	19.9%	4.1%	33.9%	19.8%
My responsibility to my colleagues—other like-minded men wherever they are	1.1%	-	1.7%	1.0%
No Answer	7.8%	12.5%	17.8%	11.9%

There were few who said their first responsibility was to their colleagues. The first choice by a large majority was the administrative needs of the college. Broken down by choices listed last the results were:

TABLE 39

LAST RESPONSIBILITY OF ADULT DEAN BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION

	Evening College	Extension Division	L. A. College	Total
Community	21.1%	16.5%	16.1%	18.5%
Administration	3.3%	2.0%	8.9%	4.6%
Faculty	7.8%	12.5%	7.1%	8.8%
Colleagues	48.9%	37.5%	30.3%	40.7%
No Answer	18.9%	31.3%	37.5%	27.3%

There seemed to be general agreement that colleague obligations were last; however, extension directors were less likely to feel this way than their evening counterparts. One could expect that to the extent a profession had developed obligations to peers this would be reinforced. The breakdowns do not tell a great deal about local and cosmopolitan reference groups. These data were more easily observed in interviewing.

The Questionnaire data did reveal, however, something about the development of a career of adult administration. Again, the possibilities are stronger in general extension. The allegiances of the evening college dean are more diverse with stronger feelings about his faculty colleagues and weaker loyalties to the local community than the extension director. The interviewing that followed the Questionnaire tried to explore in more detail the dean's reference groups and his career line.

It has been observed that professional workers in an organization can have two kinds of orientation that tell us something about their reference groups. Lazarsfeld and Thielens in talking about the college professor state:

> Engineers and natural scientists who work for commercial companies, for instance, may either place emphasis upon the approval of their business superiors or recognition by their professional peers. The college professor often without knowing it, faces a similar choice: should his reference group be his colleagues on the campus and all over the country, or his superiors in the college administration, and maybe the local community? Of course, such orientations are not mutually exclusive: local recognition is, for example, often achieved as the result of national reputation. But during the difficult years the two loyalties could potentially clash.[1]

The observations of these authors about college professors can be applied to the administrative fraternity, who also can be viewed in terms of their local or cosmopolitan outlooks.

The Locals and Cosmopolitans

Questioning about the career line of the administrator, his discussion of the forces that shaped his program, and changes he anticipated in the future revealed two characteristically different orientations.

In one instance, problems were stated in terms of the local community, local associations, or the particular university. In the other, themes relating to broader concerns emerged: the national picture, population changes, etc. Deans with the orientation to local structures could be classified as "locals" and those with orientations toward larger structures as "cosmopolitans."[2] The locals were more likely to have spent more time on their jobs and were generally older. Their attitudes toward their own universities were likely to be chauvinistic. Characteristically, their positions in the university were maintained by a network of personal contacts. Merton, in characterizing the difference between the two types, states:

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[1] Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, The Academic Mind (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 140-41. Copyright 1958 by The Free Press, a corporation.

> The influence of local influentials rests not so much on what they know as whom they know. . . . The cosmopolitan . . . usually comes into town fully equipped with the prestige and skills associated with his business or profession.[3]

One dean, who could be classified as a local, in talking about setting up community committees to aid his program stated:

> I'm on the Board of the Y, work with NCCJ, the Community Chest, and so on. This gives people a chance to see that it's not just one-sided—that I'm willing to give time to the community. It also provides a lot of contacts with people who might be useful.

Another index of orientation came from the Questionnaire and relates to participation in community organizations. The locals are found more often in fraternal organizations, business groups, and service clubs. The cosmopolitans, on the other hand, belong to those organizations in which they can exercise their special skills and knowledge: they are found more often in professional groups. One of the questions in the interview was, "Do you belong to any community or statewide groups?" The response to this usually indicated the orientation of the dean or director. One cosmopolitan dean said:

> I'm a member of the board of directors of a group concerned with water supply—the Council for a Cleaner Potomac. I'm a charter member and a member of the Board of Governors of the Land Economics fraternity. I belong to the social sciences honorary and things like that. . . . I avoid the usual luncheon clubs—Rotary, Kiwanis and that sort of thing.

Cosmopolitans tended to have more education than the locals. The attainment of a doctorate in any field has a tendency to give the recipient a set of skills and knowledge that is transferable to a number of situations. However, even when the local administrator had a doctorate, he characteristically had obtained it by taking a leave of absence or received his degree at the same university in which he was working. Merton characterizes the local influential as one who understands and the cosmopolitan as one who knows:

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[2] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), p. 393ff. These terms were suggested by him.

[3] Ibid., p. 40.

> It appears that the cosmopolitan influential has a following because he knows, the local influential because he understands. The one is sought out for his specialized skills and experience; the other for his intimate appreciation of intangible but effectively significant details.[4]

In talking about changes anticipated, or effects of the war, or of the community on the programs, locals usually focused on changes within the university structure first and then the local community. The cosmopolitan tended to talk about larger concerns. One cosmopolitan dean responding to the question on the effect of the war stated:

> I think it had a very material effect. But not on us any more than any other institution, of course. Following World War II the whole adult education movement changed, began to stress different kinds of education, emphasized the whole problem of teaching people to adapt to social change. Then, of course, the thought of military money when the GI students flocked in helped a great deal. But I think the main effect of the war was to establish for the first time upon the people of [this state] an international atmosphere.

In the last analysis the local and cosmopolitan orientations cannot be simply related to the kind of person the job recruits or his background, although these things do hint at the orientation. The essential ingredient in both orientations is the kind of personal involvement: the local person is more the time server and his commitment is to the various personalities involved in his institution and local community. The personal involvement of the cosmopolitan is with his job and with a group of professional experts who are located all over the country.

What do these distinctions tell us about liberal adult programming? The cosmopolitan and local orientations are related to program activity. The four most active programs in the nation are directed by cosmopolitans. The institutions with inactive programs are largely staffed by locals. The willingness to depart from traditional liberal arts offerings and try some liberal experimentation (as described in the section on present practice) seems to be positively related to the cosmopolitan outlook of the dean or director.

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[4] Ibid., p. 403.

Relations of Typology to Liberal Adult Education

The scholar is likely to be associated with a conservative institution. Quality and standards are generally maintained. When the scholar has assistants who are businessmen, then this seems to be a very effective combination for effective liberal adult programming.

The cosmopolitan business type who has scholars for his assistants to maintain relations with the campus also is very effective. The scholar assistants have convictions about scholarly values but are not in the position of having to merchandise programs. A variation of this arrangement occurs in the small college where the president is the academe and his adult dean is the businessman.

The cosmopolitan social worker in a community where there is a high educational level functions very effectively in setting up liberal adult programs. Outside this context, however, he seems to need the scholar as an assistant or as a superior if liberal values are to be protected. The social worker in this setting functions much like the businessman.

The civil service administrator is the only one of the four who seems to bear a very simple relationship to liberal adult programming. His system effectively and dramatically kills liberal adult programming. No combination of types seems to work with the civil service administrator. If he appears anywhere in the organization, liberal adult education begins to suffer. (See Table 40, Relation of Adult Dean Typology to Liberal Education.)

Relation of the Typology to the Growth Cycle

The scholar usually appears on the scene in the early stage of the growth cycle before a separate organization is established and autonomy developed. The small liberal arts college is more likely to appoint a local scholar; the larger private urban evening college with a liberal arts core is more likely to select a cosmopolitan scholar, although this type is rare. The businessman appears on the scene when autonomy is

TABLE 40

RELATION OF ADULT DEAN TYPOLOGY TO LIBERAL EDUCATION

	Attitudes Toward Credit Liberal Education	Attitudes Toward Non-Credit Community Programming for Special Publics	Attitudes Toward Non-Credit Liberal Programs
Local Scholar	Interested only in remedial lib. educ. defined as "the liberal arts"	Unfavorable	Unfavorable
Cosmopolitan Scholar	Interested primarily in remed. lib. educ., usually open to spec. cr. programming & ideas	Unfavorable	Unfavorable
Local Businessman	Interested in rem. educ. as long as it pays its own way	Favorable to income-prod. conferences & institutes for business and ind.	Unfavorable
Cosmopolitan Businessman	Interested in rem. educ. as a necessary but not most imp. part of program	Fav. to providing univ. services & spec. pr'gms to wide var. of groups	Fav. to building up & serving a consuming pub. int. in lib. educ.
Local Social Worker	Interested in rem. educ. as the most important part of the program	If the community is "ready" for it	If the community or spec. grps. request pr'gms they will try to assist them
Cosmopolitan Social Worker	Int. in rem. educ. as a nec. but not the most imp. part of pr'gm—nec. because it helps indiv'ls adjust to this social system	Fav. to meeting the needs of a wide variety of community grps. but not in terms of their "felt needs"	Fav. to communicating the liberal tradition of the univ. as widely as possible and as flexibly as required
Local Civil Servant	Not int. unless it is a req. for a vocat. degree	Unfavorable	Unfavorable
Cosmopolitan Civil Servant	Int. in a "balanced" pr'gm, a small part of which is lib. educ.	Unfavorable	Unfavorable

the goal. He is more likely to emerge in the urban evening college with a business (or other than liberal arts) core. The cosmopolitan businessman is more likely to turn up later in the stages of growth within the same private evening college. The scholar and local businessman tend to disappear in the later stages of the growth cycle.[5] The social worker is most often found in state or municipally controlled institutions and usually appears after autonomy is established. The local social worker is more often found in the newly-established, small, publicly-supported institutions. The cosmopolitan social worker is found in larger divisions at the stage of Integration or Assimilation. The local and cosmopolitan civil service administrator emerges in the last phases of growth. Usually, he is in charge of a division that has moved into the stage of Assimilation or, with the local civil servant, beyond it to the stage of hardening of the arteries! (See Table 41.)

TABLE 41

RELATION OF THE ADULT DEAN TO THE GROWTH CYCLE

	Departmental Domination	Autonomy	Integration	Assimilation
Degree	Bachelor's or M.A.	M.A. or Ph.D.	M.A. or Ph.D.	Ph.D.
Field	Liberal Arts or Bus. Ad.	Liberal Arts	Educ.	Lib. Arts or Educ.
Previous Job	Faculty	Univ. Fac. or outside Univ.	Univ. Admin. or outside Univ.	Diverse Origins
Reference group	Faculty	Local community	Admin. & Faculty	Admin. & colleagues
Personal involvement	Local	Local	Cosmopolitan	Cosmopolitan
Orientation and attitude typology	Scholar or businessman	Scholar or social worker	Social worker	Social worker or Civil Service Administrator

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[5] They disappear from the top position but usually not from the organization. Most of the larger adult divisions have scholar and business types as second level program administrators.

GENERAL FORCES

Some General Forces Moving Toward and Inhibiting Change

Aside from the areas previously discussed there seem to be some general forces which influenced the direction liberal adult education was taking. These forces did not specifically relate to the foregoing catalogue of forces or to the growth cycle. They were connected with the general context in which university adult education operates—its relationship with the rest of the university and other higher education; its dialogues with government, which is partly subsidizing its work; its financing problems generally.

Models and Improvisations

The question was asked in interviewing, "Which are the two or three best divisions of your kind in the country and why?" "Which are worst and which run of the mill?" There was general agreement on which were the best. Extension directors generally looked to California and Wisconsin. Evening college deans looked to the University of Chicago and New York University. However, it was noted that though these divisions were generally recognized as best, they were not models for most of the institutions. This was puzzling. It became clear that evening and extension administrators looked to adult divisions in their own region which they considered to be in their own league. One director, explaining why he didn't follow one of the national models, said:

> I look at a lot of catalogues. I'm on everybody's mailing list. I look at the stuff NYU is doing but it has little applicability. We don't have the audience for that sort of thing here.

It was further noted that the model the adult division follows is one shared by the parent institution as a whole. In other words, if the total university was looking at Harvard, the adult dean was looking to Harvard extension. One state university director, whose colleagues looked to Harvard, stated it thus:

When I talked to Pusey [President of Harvard] he told me Harvard

> did not have any extension, but I think they do. . . . There are the Lowell Lectures which are an excellent series at a very low cost. The Business School sends its faculty to places like Hawaii for Executive Development programs. That's what I'd call extended extension—and many others. They may not call it extension, but that's what it is.

Asking about the worst programs did not draw the expected responses. Deans and directors were reluctant to identify these divisions. This came out, however, when discussing "run of the mill" programs. Again the references were regional—possibly even in the same city. The feeling generally was "Thank God, we're not like them!" In some instances the negative reference group was a rival. One dean talked about a school located in his own city:

> We're least like _____. We're higher level. They do things like *underwater fly tying* [laughter].

His comment was the more interesting in the light of criticisms of his program by his day faculty. It was described as not "university level."

A good deal can be predicted about an adult division's course of development by noting its models. Some of the more interesting cases were state universities that used a quality private university as their model. In these cases, improvisations had to be made. They were compelled by charter and custom to give service, yet they wanted to restrict themselves to an elite clientele. One university in the sample was attempting to develop a new conception of extension in terms of its own elitist notion of itself. The extension dean stated:

> I believe the service idea has been too strong in the past. . . . I know the university has an obligation to serve all the people in the state but this does not mean that we must provide all the needed services. Take correspondence study . . . the university never has offered high school courses by correspondence. This is a very important and needed service out over the state, but this doesn't mean the university should provide it.

The reorganization that was taking place tried to shift extension from the administrative structure to the collegial one, from the one authority in the university to the other.

> . . . It means a shifting of primary responsibility for the extension program to the academic departments. The role of the extension division is to administer programs and we should be regarded in the same relation to the University as the Graduate School. [Later in the interview] . . . as far as I am concerned I would just as soon

> have nothing to do with the budget and have all the funds come from the academic departments, just as they do with the Graduate School. . . . Are you suggesting that the faculty is the true source of power? That's it precisely.

The outcome of this departure from extension practice is not yet clear. The next ten years should provide the answer.

Further research might explore in more detail what happens when an adult dean's model of what his division will become diverges significantly from that of the parent institution. In several instances it was noted that universities were attempting to pull themselves up by their bootstraps and "change their league." The adult division, however, was still functioning with the old models. It would be interesting to explore the final outcome—the sort of compromises or improvisations that will be made and the forces that will determine them.

The observation that the view the university has of itself is shared by most of its personnel led the investigators to do a quality study of the parent institutions. The investigators became convinced after a while that judgments, primarily of the university's adult education arm, would coincide with other quality ratings of the total institution. This proved largely true by and large. It was thought helpful to view universities as "cultures." This suggested that quality institutions would have quality liberal adult programs. This information proved invaluable in thinking about the models that universities and their adult divisions use. If the "avant garde" and the "upper middle" institutions are the pace setters for the "lower middle" ranks and the "rear guard,"[1] then this has important implications for an agency and for leaders in the field of university adult education interested in effecting changes. The most obvious implication is that programs designed for maximum impact should be developed at the regional pace-setting institutions since they will tend to be picked up by the rest.

There were other general forces moving toward change that were not located within the university but related to more national developments.

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[1] David Riesman, Constraint and Variety in American Education (Lincoln, Nebr.: University of Nebraska Press, 1956), uses these terms developed on the basis of a quality index suggested by Lazarsfeld and Thielens in The Academic Mind.

State Universities

The Quarrel over Public Funds

A conversation was in progress at several state universities between university officials and state legislatures concerning the amount of tax money that would be available for adult education. Some of the directors felt that their budgets would be cut in the very near future. One of the extension divisions had all public support removed and was in the process of trying to make itself completely self-supporting. The budget cut had a general salutary effect. The university was compelled to look at its own commitment to adult education and examine to what extent it was willing to reaffirm it. The process of reorganization has separated out those strictly service tasks from its educational ones. Extension instruction now needs to be no more self-supporting than campus instruction. A provost at another university was of the opinion that liberal education should be a part of extension and should be subsidized "as any good education is." Many state extension divisions are involved in a host of activities that bear little or no relationship to the over-all goals of the university. At one extension division the biggest operation was a high-school debating division and high-school athletics program. At another university a secretarial service for voluntary associations constituted a major investment of extension resources. In most instances these activities are the most heavily subsidized by the state legislature. Where they are not subsidized, the cost has to be borne by other parts of the extension program. In short, funds that could go to support liberal education ventures are funnelled off into dubious "service" activities.

Co-operation with Agricultural Extension

The ominous trend in some states toward cutting off public funds has given pause to some general extension personnel. There seems to be more thoughtful consideration of how best to co-ordinate general extension and co-operative extension activities. In the Questionnaire the question was asked, "Do you have any joint programming and/or joint faculty appointments with agricultural extension in your institution?" The response in the state universities was (see Table 42). The co-operation was more widespread than anticipated. This trend will probably grow. There were some fears, however, concerning what

TABLE 42

CO-OPERATION WITH AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION IN STATE UNIVERSITIES

Some co-operative arrangements	31.2%
No co-operative arrangements	64.5%
No Answer	4.1%

would happen to general extension in any such merger. One dean at a land-grant institution stated:

> In order to maintain its existence agricultural extension is beginning to ask questions like, is the county agent organization valid? What kind of person should the extension specialist be? There's no question in my mind but that it's going to get into general extension areas. All this is preparatory to my main point: and that is that extension in land grant universities and to some extent in state universities 20 years from now will from necessity have to have close family if not a marriage relationship with agricultural extension. This report by the top extension people indicates this very clearly. The question for me is, how do you effect this marriage when one of the partners is an unwilling one? [Bangs his palm on report.] Here's where the money is—we'll just have to face it—_____ is already trying to set the terms of the relationship. . . . Actually, I think there's some validity to this kind of relationship. We've been involved with questions of technique and methodology, agriculture has developed some techniques of its own but has always had a strong emphasis on subject matter. I think it makes sense for us to sit down and establish cordial relationships, to pool the different talents that we have.

There seems to be some evidence at one university that when agricultural extension and general extension are in fierce competition, liberal adult programming disappears. What closer co-operation between the two groups will do to liberal education is an open question.

Liberal Adult Prospects in State Universities

The future of liberal programming (apart from the degree-credit framework) does not appear bright. The "belt tightening" in effect in many state extension divisions will shift the emphasis more to the vocational and professional field—the bread and butter programs. Special non-credit liberal programs designed for special clienteles will probably be de-emphasized because of the costs involved. The conference and institute programs may be able to tie in some liberal emphases. With a number of state extension divisions pulling back to the campus and setting up conference centers, this area of programming will assume greater importance. Since the major goal of any conference center director is to keep his "hotel" filled, the pressure to let any organization use the facilities is tremendous. It takes a heroic Continuation Center director to sustain any kind of liberal emphasis.

Private Universities.

The Large Well-Endowed Universities

These institutions are not in the position of having their financial base for liberal programs cut. The problems they face, as do the state universities, is the competition for faculty. Day faculty resources are becoming increasingly more limited because of increasing enrollments. Some of the interviews with private evening college deans indicated that the ratio of community-to-campus faculty had shifted in the last ten years. The danger point ten years ago was 30% community faculty; today, as revealed by this study, it is 50%, although in actual practice it probably exceeds this. What will the ratio be tomorrow? And how can any widespread interest and commitment be developed on the part of the day faculty when they have no contact with the evening program?

The Small Private College

These institutions are located in an urban context and are considered "street car colleges," i.e., the majority of their students come from the local community. The problem of use of faculty was the least serious that faced them. Some of them were struggling against tremendous odds to survive in a highly competitive milieu. Generally endowments were small and limited to the local community. Costs were met primarily by tuition fees.[2] These institutions can escape their local character by broadening the base of their support and by building up their dormitory population. Following are several composites of the small private college or university that illustrate the solutions they have attempted in order to survive.

I

A small midwestern university established over thirty years ago with a liberal arts core had functioned for a number of years as if there were no community around it. After the Korean War the chancellor set up an evening division to improve community relations. He expected to perform a service for the community that would increase local endowments and also make money immediately from fees. Two-thirds of the main university budget is met by student fees. Whether the evening college venture is improving town-gown relationships cannot yet be determined. So far it has brought fees to the university it would otherwise not have. It has not, however, helped to increase endowments. The university built a large dormitory to house out-of-city students but has not been able to fill it.

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[2] An interesting observation is that none of these institutions had a medical school. This might be a good index for separating out these schools from the rest.

The establishment of the evening college has crystallized some problems within the university itself. Generally the university is divided between two factions. On the one hand are those who wish the institution to retain its liberal arts core and follow the model of some of the more nationally known, high-quality liberal arts colleges. On the other are those who want the university to become a "community college."

There is no serious competition within the city limits but it is only a matter of time until the state university will establish a branch there. The attempts of the university to escape its local character by building up its dormitory population and broadening its endowment base, while at the same time developing itself as a community college, have so far proved unsuccessful.

II

A small university in a western city faces similar problems. The university was founded 75 years ago and began service courses for teachers and businessmen soon after. Endowment here is a problem, as is the small dormitory population. This institution is much more closely identified with its community than Case I above. Here, too, the evening college has not been successful in bringing in any large endowments, even though it is a money-making arm of the university. The impulse of the present chancellor is to pull back from the community and become a high-quality liberal arts college with a limited enrollment. Functioning as a community college has not solved the university's financial problems. The evening dean stated:

> . . . I think under the present circumstances any kind of change is likely to be evolutionary instead of swift . . . unless the university gets a substantial gift to ease its financial burden. Part of our difficulty is sheer financial limitation. Having grown up in this university it may be that I'm influenced by it too much.

It is too late in the game to become a nationally recognized liberal arts college, even assuming the funds were available to do so. The state university has established a branch in the city and so far, by informal agreement, has limited its offerings. The competition of the state university, however, is already proving too much for this institution.

III

A third university in an eastern city faces slightly different problems from the two above schools. It was established in 1893 and almost at once inaugurated programs for government personnel. The growth of the university was slow and it experienced its greatest influence during and after World War II, when a number of refugee scholars were counted among its faculty. The downtown campus was the original location of the university and it became the adult education division when a campus was built on the outskirts of the city. In 1952 the activities of the downtown division were limited and some strenuous attempts were made to abandon the downtown location and offer all work on the campus. The fact that there was an articulate body of students who supported the downtown program and that it made money for the rest of the university prevented any move. The city in which the university is located has a number of private universities functioning in adult education and no informal understandings have been worked out regarding which schools should focus on which publics. According to the evening dean, the city is a "competitive jungle." Two state universities are hovering outside the city and one is already offering programs within the city. The downtown division is losing its audience as government agencies are decentralizing and the central city itself begins to empty out. The decision the president has made is to focus attention on the undergraduate work of the institution and to try to become the national university of the denomination the school represents. Movement in this direction has not yet been successful. The plan to build up a national constituency seems sound but apparently the denominational sponsors are not completely sold on the idea.

The evening deans or directors in these three colleges were all oriented to a state university outlook: they talked the same way about community needs, service, and the like. Essentially, they are state extension directors caught in a private university setting. All of them were in conflict with their presidents. The presidents were moving to pull back from the community and to raise standards in an effort to become good liberal arts colleges. The presidents feel this would enable them to compete with the state system. However, this does not seem a realistic solution to the problem. Some kind of municipal support or state support seems to be necessary to save these colleges. Outside help from a foundation would merely postpone the final day of reckoning for a few years.

One private college in the middle west tried to get state funds from the university without any of the state control that would go along with it. The attempt was not successful. The dean then came up with a proposal to establish an extension center in his building that would be open to all of the state universities. Any of the courses offered would carry residence credit at all of the state institutions, even though a private school was sheltering the program. The vice president of academic affairs at the land-grant institution stated:

> No control over how a particular course would fit into an individual institution's program, no control over the qualification of the instructor. . . . Their purpose, of course, is to get identified with the five state institutions, that's pretty clear to see.

This state academic officer had little sympathy for this private college's plight or appreciation for the ingenuity of the evening college dean in proposing this way out.

A more successful solution may be the one that has emerged in a large industrial state in the east. The state university has developed a co-operative plan with five private colleges in one of the largest cities of the state. The initial impulse seems to have come from the private institution's fear of state extension's growth. The state university shares a building with the five private colleges; scheduling, promotion, and publicity are handled co-operatively. All credits given are transferable to all of the participating schools. Another midwestern university has set up a similar arrangement with one of the area's famous liberal arts colleges.

Liberal Adult Prospects

The long-range future for liberal adult programming seems most favorable in the large private universities. Prospects look brighter there than in the state universities or the small struggling urban colleges. The immediate future seems to favor the state universities. Their budgets are larger, they are more diversified, and they actually have more plans afoot for liberal adult programs. But the long-run effect of legislative queries about the expenditure of public money for this purpose may drastically curtail any effort in liberal education. The developments begun with the Lyceum and Chautauqua, and carried through the early extension divisions, may well be taken up by the large private universities, who in the final accounting may be their only heir.

SECTION III:

CONCLUSION

SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES

Source of Control of the Organization of the Adult Division

The distinction between private and public institutions as far as liberal program activity goes was not as sharp as expected. The larger private evening colleges and the state extension divisions tended to be similar in amount and proportion of liberal program activity. The smaller evening colleges (primarily the church-related liberal arts colleges) were relatively inactive. The state universities, whether comprehensive, separated, or land grant, tended to have essentially similar liberal programs. The municipal universities shared more characteristics with the large private evening colleges with articulate community-service orientations than they did with the state universities. The format and method of their programming was quite similar to private evening colleges. There was more variety of presentation (conferences, institutes, mass media, correspondence, etc.) at state-supported institutions than at the municipal, large private, or church-related adult divisions.

The hypothesis on source of control—public support means more active liberal programming, private or church support means less—requires qualification. Actually public support generally implied a wider variety of formats in which liberal education was offered (exception: the municipal colleges) and generally more non-credit programming across the board. The large private evening colleges were less diverse in their formats but were as active as the public institutions in credit and non-credit liberal programs. The smaller church-related colleges, with a few notable exceptions, spent less time, effort, and energy on liberal education activities, both credit and non-credit.

Adult divisions organized separately from the main college or university were more favorable to the growth and development of liberal adult education. Usually the establishment of a separate structure indicated the institution's commitment to do something in adult education. Scattered efforts of universities in adult education tended to be intermittent and to lack balance. The establishment of a consolidated unit within the college or university indicated the school's desire to take adult education seriously and sustain some effort in it. Liberal education programs organized apart from traditional content or format, and with some concern for the nature of adulthood, were most unlikely to develop in institutions that had no separate administrative structure for the adult division. The most favorable arrangement for this type of development was formal control in the hands of a dean and a division that functioned like a college.

Divisions with specific sets of guiding principles had more active liberal programs than divisions with none. Elaboration of a set of objectives by either faculty or administrative personnel required a certain sustained commitment to adult education. Development of objectives usually entailed some clarification of publics being served, some priority in the tasks the division had carved out for itself, and some indication of appropriate curriculum—liberal arts and otherwise. The existence of objectives implied some history of adult education and university acceptance of this function.

The existence of a liberal education staff and/or a research person was another indication of the importance of the adult division assigned to these areas and their commitment to do something about it. The key seemed to be the full-time post. If a staff member had many duties some of which were to program liberal studies, or experiment, or think up new ideas, these latter rarely got done. Many respondents indicated that all staff members are expected to do this. In fact, unless staff is specifically assigned to it, nothing gets done. Liberal program activity was much more common among divisions with liberal education staff and/or research personnel than among those without.

The age of the division also seemed related to liberal adult education. The older divisions had more resources to sustain liberal adult programs than the recent arrivals. There was more likelihood that these divisions would have liberal education staff and research personnel. These divisions were apt to have a number of diversified programs and to be accepted as equal members of the university system.

University Tradition and the Budget

The traditions of the university or college determine to a very large extent the activity in liberal adult education:

The recognition of the importance of the adult or citizen in the charter of the university, and some emphasis by the university in its public documents on the importance of liberal adult education, generally favored the growth of liberal adult programs. However, these statements can be ignored and allowed to languish. They become important to the extent that they are accepted by the university or college as a whole—administration and faculty—and have articulate champions.

Any conception of community service the university or college has predisposes it to do something in adult education. However, it does not seem to affect liberal adult education directly. What seems to be necessary to provide the motivations for the development of liberal adult education is a conception of community service fused with a liberal arts core. The school that has both traditions (a conception of community service and a liberal arts core) is a rarity. The task is to build a liberal outlook in those institutions with some notions of community service—medical institutes, engineering schools, business training schools, and the like.

When the first offerings in evening or extension work are an outreach of the liberal arts departments, the institution usually has a liberal arts core and that affects present practice. There usually are proportionally more liberal education offerings than when other departments are initially involved. The problem is that these offerings are usually transferred intact into the evening or extension division without any modification for an adult clientele. The task in these institutions with a liberal arts core is to build some notions of community service onto the liberal base so that the traditions can operate more favorably in the development of special liberal education programs.

Divisions with large budgets are more favorably situated to sustain liberal efforts than are those with small budgets. However, this is usually contingent upon the adult dean or director's convictions about liberal education. The intensity of these convictions will be reflected in the program no matter what the budget. Some small-budget divisions with pro-liberal deans are doing a remarkable job with very limited resources; some of the giants are doing practically nothing in liberal adult education.

The more budget flexibility the adult dean has, the more favorable is the situation for liberal adult education—provided the dean has strong pro-liberal convictions.

Discussion of the budget underlined the marginality of many adult divisions and the ways some of them have managed to gain some budget flexibility for experimentation. The whole budget situation is a reflection of the division's position within the university. One unexpected result of the study was to clarify some myths about budgetary second-class citizenship. Most adult divisions fare quite well and many have not utilized the freedom and flexibility that are potentially theirs. This assumes some amount of acceptance by the parent university of its role in adult education. If there is none or little, then no amount of ingenuity will save the adult dean financially. The problem presently is that there are neither particular pressure groups clamoring for liberal adult education nor articulate constituencies prepared to support it. In many ways liberal education is in a position similar to the arts—the sponsor has disappeared from the scene and no alternative has emerged. The one possibility that suggests itself is liberal education tied into professional programs. The financial base of liberal credit programs tied in with degrees is assured as long as the degree is considered a commodity in our society. An extension of this pattern may be possible with non-credit liberal adult education.

University Acceptance of Adult Education

The higher the status of the adult dean and his division within the university system, the more liberal programming—provided the adult dean has some strong pro-liberal education convictions or sees the liberal education path as a prestigeful route within the university system, as in institutions with liberal arts cores. Again this dimension of the adult division's position within the university is critically dependent on the adult dean's convictions.

The hypothesized effects of the president's attitudes toward the adult division and its relation to liberal programming were substantially verified. The president's view of adult education is usually shared by the adult dean. This is not surprising: there may be a selective process operating here. Liberal education programming seems to command a larger share of the total adult education effort at those schools in which the president has a kind of "missionary zeal" for adult education. Almost as effective is the view that sees the adult division as a peer in the university family, assuming that the adult division is at the later stages of its development. Some divisions at the early stages of growth characterized their presidents' views as sponsoring equal status. This meant something different than when it was reported by the older divisions. When an adult director in a departmentally dominated division stated that the president viewed his division as an equal member, he usually meant that his program was essentially a limited version of the same thing offered on the campus or during the daytime. The president's view of the adult division primarily in public-relations terms limited somewhat more the time, effort, and energy spent in liberal education than did either of the above two views. The most limiting view the president can have of the adult division is one which primarily appreciates its money-making potential. This subjects the whole program to the pressure of showing a profit—a pressure the day or campus undergraduate program does not have to face.

The support of the key university deans (education, commerce, engineering, arts and sciences) within the institution increases the possibilities of liberal adult programming. The support of education and commerce is necessary in the early phases so that bread-and-butter demands can be met. This precedes any heavy investment in liberal adult programming. A crucial person in making available campus resources is the arts and sciences dean. Without his support, effective liberal education programs cannot grow. The engineering dean played a less important role than expected. He seemed to be important only if the adult program had an engineering core. The influence of these deans is modified by a strong president or a strong departmental arrangement. Deans seemed to function as a cabinet in the absence of strong presidential leadership or effective checks by the faculty. When weak deans prevailed, however, they were not a significant force to be reckoned with by the adult dean. The most favorable situation for the unhampered development of the adult division (but not necessarily liberal education) was a strong departmental framework. The adult dean could then work out individual arrangements with department chairmen and not ever fear the consolidated opposition of a whole university division represented by a strong, antagonistic dean.

The belief prevails among evening and extension deans and among other university personnel that a large community faculty is undesirable. There seems to be some evidence that when over 50% of the adult faculty come from the community, liberal adult programming is affected adversely. Campus faculty fears about standards are activated and strengthen opposition to the adult division. This has the practical effect of eliminating the resources of the arts and sciences division. If a strong departmental system is in operation, the adult dean may possibly work out individual deals, but this is exceptional.

When the adult dean controls his own faculty arrangements, and also has some pro-liberal convictions, liberal programming seems to flourish. The effect ranges from none at all with a departmentally controlled faculty (at the discretion of the department chairmen who are persuaded to co-operate by the adult dean) and an extra compensation faculty, to very favorable with a joint appointment system, a full-time adult faculty, and diversified faculty arrangements. Active liberal programming and all the elements that encourage liberal developments were most characteristic of divisions with diversified or mixed faculty systems.

The amount and effectiveness of liberal adult education is related to the existence of a faculty advisory committee. The presence of such a committee insures at least some campus faculty support and provides the adult division with program ideas. A faculty committee drawn from friends of the adult division within the university seemed to function less effectively than a committee appointed by the president. Faculty committees appointed by the adult dean were more characteristic of adult divisions in their early stages. Those appointed by the president were more characteristic of the older divisions. Presidential action seemed to legitimize the division. No data were uncovered that showed the adverse effects of faculty committees. It seems quite clear, however, that they could be used by a hostile administration to dismantle the adult division.

The more differentiated the faculty arrangements, the more favorable the liberal education opportunities in the adult division. This differentiation was not an independent variable but seemed to come with age and university acceptance of the adult function. (Evidence here was not as clearcut as expected.) Graduated payment and some system of ranking usually went together and were characteristic of the more advanced divisions with diversified faculty arrangements. The development of what could be called a faculty "culture" and some systematic kind of faculty training seemed more characteristic of the evening colleges—though neither development was widespread. Differentiation in faculty arrangements seemed to mean different things at an evening college and at an extension division.

The Community Context of the Adult Program

One of the factors that sustains liberal education efforts is the amount of community support for the rest of the program. If the adult division has done a good job of projecting the university into the local community, then almost anything it begins will be supported by the constituency it has developed. This hypothesis was not substantiated. The kinds of community support created by adult divisions in the form of separate and over-all community advisory committees is only related to isolated parts of the program, usually not the liberal education parts. Building up support for liberal programs required something more than committees composed of influential friends in the community. It required some actual work in building up audiences for liberal programs, only one small part of which is community advisory committees. The data did underline the dangerous features of community advisory committees. Though they build support for the division, they overdevelop the vocational parts of the program at the expense of liberal education.

Local influences invariably find their way into the adult program. A dean with strong liberal convictions can resist the more damaging effects of this kind of influence and still work within local imperatives. The task is to prevent the program from being a simple reflection of the industrial and business segments of the community. The job of preventing these interests from "taking over" the program is considerably easier if the university has a tradition of independence (usually associated with a national and international constituency) and functions in a community with a high level of educational attainment. The problem is that those adult divisions that are simple reflections of the business and industrial community tend to attract deans or directors who enthusiastically endorse this emphasis. This is related in part to the quality of the institution of which the adult division is a part.

The development of this constituency did seem to depend on the adult dean's (or his staff's) membership in local groups. Membership in local groups seemed to aid in recruiting students for the adult division and generally developed support for the program. This had no direct effect upon the support given liberal education, however, unless the adult dean worked for it specifically. Business, industrial, and various voluntary associations with educational aims can be persuaded of the importance of liberal education. This assumes the dean's pro-liberal education convictions.

The competitive picture in a local situation did relate to the amount of liberal education offered in a given adult division. This was dependent on the main university's own program emphases, i.e., they were more likely to feel pressures to do something if the institution had a liberal arts core rather than an agriculture, business, or engineering one. If a given enterprise was the only university adult division in an area, then it felt obliged to present a balanced program. This favored credit programs and worked against non-credit. In larger cities, where competition for students was intense, the "quality" large private evening colleges usually attracted the liberal education audience. An informal division of labor usually develops among the competing adult organizations.

Another community influence seemed to be the educational level of the area in which the adult division was operating. A large middle class favored the development of liberal adult programs.

And finally regional accrediting associations limited the activities of adult divisions, although this had only an indirect effect upon liberal adult education. An accrediting association may recommend that programs presently supporting liberal adult efforts (e.g., professional education courses) be shifted to another division of the university.

The Adult Dean or Director

In the last analysis the critical factor in liberal adult programming was the dean or director himself.

The educational background of the adult dean was one determinant of the investment a given division made in liberal arts programming. The dean's training in a liberal arts discipline seems to correlate with liberal programming, but not in any clearcut way. Most of the deans or directors came from a liberal arts discipline or from education. When the traditions of an institution favored liberal education the dean's educational background seemed to make no difference. Liberal arts background seemed to be more closely related to attitudes toward innovation. The liberally educated deans were more interested in experimentation and had plans afoot to initiate experimental programs.

Liberal program activity seemed to fare better the higher the educational attainment of the adult dean or director. It was the exceptional division that had a vigorous creative liberal education program and a dean or director who did not have his Ph.D. Those divisions under departmental domination were least likely to have administrators with Ph.D.'s. The divisions farther along in development were most likely to have them unless the dean or director had long tenure. If a dean had been with the division since its inception, or for more than twenty years, he usually did not have a Ph.D. These older divisions, however, usually had second-level staff that did have Ph.D.'s. This suggests the increasing professionalization of the field of university adult education.

The administrator's career line affects the nature and amount of liberal education. Deans or directors who viewed their posts as steps in a career that would lead elsewhere in the university system were unlikely to be concerned with offerings that carried little or no prestige with the main campus—namely, experimental non-credit liberal education programs. On the other hand, those with a commitment to university adult education—who had been in it for a number of years and planned to stay—were more likely to develop non-credit liberal adult education. Usually these committed professionals saw liberal adult education as one way of giving a unique and distinctive character to the work they were doing. The number of careerists who were favorably disposed toward liberal adult education was still quite small. The crucial element in whether any programs were developed at all were the pro-liberal education attitudes of the adult dean.

Length of time on the job was also associated with liberal adult education. This dimension seemed to relate to the career line of the adult dean, however. Those who had been on the job from 0-5 years were the newcomers and some hadn't made their career decisions yet. Others in the 0-5 group were getting a picture of university administration in general by moving into various high-level university posts.

The men who had been on the job from 5 to 10 years had made a career decision, either consciously or unconsciously. These were the horizontally mobile men. They had moved within the world of university adult education—transferring from one university to another and occasionally outside to related areas, like the U.S. Office of Education. The oldtimers (over ten years) seemed to discourage any kind of liberal adult education. They had lost interest in innovation, flexibility, and change. Generally the themes that ran through their responses when looking to the future was "expansion"—of plant, resources, staff, and more of the same kind of program offerings. These emphases were also reflected in their present programs.

The dean's orientation and attitudes were a critical factor in determining the amount and effectiveness of liberal education. On the basis of this data a typology of adult administrators was developed.

If the dean was primarily interested in serving remedial needs, then non-credit liberal education did not flourish. The dean's reference group here was usually the faculty or a group of subject-matter specialists with whom he identified. This dean or director was characterized as the scholar.

If the dean or director was primarily interested in serving the community's needs, then liberal education fared well only if the educational level of the community could sustain it. The reference group here was either the local community or a group of "educators" with whom the dean identified. This administrator was characterized as the social worker.

Several other orientations were noted. First was the businessman adult administrator, whose imagery of the job to be done was formulated in terms of "products," "buying," "selling," and the like. This administrator was primarily a merchandiser of educational wares and could as easily market liberal education products as vocational ones. This dean usually took his cues from the traditions of his own university, the attitudes of his president and those outside groups—like industry and foundations—likely to subsidize. Liberal education seemed to fare well with these administrators if they were located in "quality" universities or colleges where the liberal tradition was strong and were, at the same time, sensitive to the world of the foundations.

A final type was characterized as the civil service administrator. This dean was not concerned primarily with the offerings or content of educational programs. He was interested in running an enterprise as efficiently as possible.

These orientations pretty much dictated attitudes toward credit and non-credit liberal education varying in intensity from least interested to most interested. Least interested was the civil service administrator; most interested was the sophisticated businessman or social worker. Further analysis indicated that this typology did not reveal the whole story.

Another dimension of attitudes toward the job was found in the orientations described as local and cosmopolitan. This distinction underlined the personal involvement of the dean or director in his job. The distinction was between a local community identification and a wider loyalty to a group of experts. This personal involvement operated differently, depending on the type of administrator considered, although generally the cosmopolitan orientation was more favorable to liberal adult education than the local. At present there is no profession of university adult education and the dean's self-conceptions relating to his profession are usually a combination of several loyalties.

1. Scholar. The local scholar functioning as adult dean or director is usually found in a small private college. He has moved in the orbit of small colleges, generally taking low-paying faculty posts. His move into university-level adult education is an attempt to supplement his salary. He sees this position as a temporary one and plans to return to the faculty as soon as possible. His interest is in a particular college rather than in his profession.

The cosmopolitan scholar is located in the larger private evening college. He usually has a Ph.D. and has strong feelings about his professional obligations. His loyalties are not to a particular university but to his craft. He sometimes carries an appointment in his subject-matter department and attends professional meetings of his society. His motivations in moving into university adult education are economic. Again he sees this position as temporary, but he is more open to ideas than his local counterpart and he is quite interested in running a high-quality program.

2. Social Worker. The local social worker is more often found in smaller state universities or in extension divisions in their early stages. His identification is with a particular institution and with the job it is doing in extension. He has extensive contacts throughout the state and is interested in meeting the needs of citizens who come to the university. This administrator seems more attuned, however, to the needs of remedial students, those seeking vocational and professional upgrading, and businessmen, rather than in the general citizenry.

The cosmopolitan social worker is more often found in extension divisions functioning in diversified states or evening colleges in larger cities. These divisions are usually at the later stages of the growth cycle. This dean's commitment is to the field of education generally and in this instance to university adult education. He constitutes the beginnings of a profession of university adult education. He has had other educational administrative posts within the university, usually connected with one of the institution's "marginal" enterprises. He attends a number of national meetings, university adult education meetings, various educational association meetings. This dean is most likely to be writing in the field of university adult education and working to build a professional association.

3. Businessman. The local businessman is usually found in the urban evening college at the early stages of its development. His training has been in commerce and he is likely to have come from a previous post in the business world. His major interest is in remedial courses for degree-seeking business administration students. He has extensive contacts with the local business community and pretty much accepts their requests for help in the same terms that they are submitted. In short, he services the local business community as effectively as he is able within the limitation of his own situation. If he leaves the university he usually becomes a training director for one of the companies he is serving.

The cosmopolitan businessman is usually found in the larger urban evening colleges and in some cases the larger extension divisions. He is likely to have been educated in law or in one of the better university executive development programs. He sees his primary task as implementing the basic objectives of the university and promoting its interests to as wide a variety of groups as possible. He is most likely to have identified a number of target consumers for liberal education: executives, labor unions, and various professional groups. He is sensitive to national trends in education, is aware of new program developments as they occur, and is a keen observer of the social scene. He does not write about university adult education and is generally not interested in building up the profession. If he leaves the university he generally goes to a professional association as their educational director. If he stays in the university system he usually ends up in higher administration or in the business school.

4. Civil Service Administrator. The local civil servant is the dean or director who is in his present post by dint of outlasting or outliving any competitors. He has been promoted, usually from assistant dean, after his predecessor has died or retired. He is completely absorbed in building up his particular enterprise, making it larger and more efficient. He seems completely disinterested in the educational content of the programs he runs. He rarely goes to out-of-state meetings and has little awareness of national educational currents. He prides himself on the efficiency of the system he has built. Sometimes he makes decisions by drawing up "traffic patterns" for flow of work, students, administrators, money, and the like. His effect on adult liberal education is stifling.

The cosmopolitan civil servant is an extremely rare bird. His cosmopolitan orientation has usually developed through "conversion." He is younger than his local counterpart with the same background. He aspires to become an educational statesman and may be preparing to make a job move to another university. His interest in liberal education is minimal—just enough to pass in educational circles.

The Growth Cycle

These factors or forces never operated singly. It was the exceptional instance where only one force (usually the attitude of the president) seemed completely determinative of the liberal adult education picture. Rather, these forces or elements tended to group together by various stages of growth so that the conditions for the development of good liberal education were likely to be least favorable at the early stages, most favorable at the later stages. These stages of growth—the growth cycle—were suggested in preliminary interviewing and were elaborated, rechecked, modified, and expanded in subsequent research. The four stages were: the stage of Departmental Domination; the stage of Autonomy; the stage of Integration; and the stage of Assimilation. The results of the study can be summarized by stages of growth with four profiles or composites that show how the forces cluster at each stage.[1]

Departmental Domination

Source of Control and Origin of Adult Division. Thirty-two per cent of the divisions that responded to the Questionnaire were classified as departmentally dominated. They had a number of characteristics that isolated them from the rest of the sample. Most of them had separate organizations and a full-time director. If the adult sessions were not administratively separate, they were automatically classified here. Those not separately organized were usually extensions of the day or campus department. If they had a separate organization and a full-time director, then they had other features that led the investigators to conclude that they were at this stage of development. The biggest single factor was they did not have control over their own budgets. Those divisions that did have a separate organization and a full-time director were one-man organizations. There were no research personnel, liberal education staff, or second-level staff of any kind. The evening colleges were more heavily represented in this category than the extension divisions.

TABLE 43

DISTRIBUTION OF EVENING COLLEGES AND EXTENSION DIVISIONS BY GROWTH CYCLE STAGE

	Departmental Domination	Autonomy	Integration	Assimilation
Evening College	41%	28%	24%	7%
Extension Division	18%	30%	28%	24%

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[1] See Appendix 4 for Profiles of Adult Divisions by Growth Cycle Stage.

The large number of Catholic schools (14 out of 44), mostly Jesuit, placed in this stage distorts somewhat the distinction between evening colleges and extension divisions. These religious institutions are generally small and have a round-the-clock operation with no special notice taken of the older students who show up in the evening. As the schools get larger, they begin to look more like large multi-purpose private universities, as does Marquette in Milwaukee. These institutions also tend to be similar in organization, audience, and orientation to other small private or church-related colleges. Philosophical and educational imperatives lead them to select a more limited role for themselves in adult education. If we remove these divisions from the departmentally dominated list, then the distribution by growth cycle in the urban evening college and the extension division resemble each other closely. The exception is the small number of evening colleges at the stage of assimilation. (This will be discussed in more detail below.)

The pattern was for these divisions to lack any formal guiding principles developed especially for the organization. Most of them indicated that they took over the principles of the main university in their work, but this was not considered a set of specific guiding principles. The small number that did have formal or informal guiding principles were usually the extension divisions. They had to pinpoint certain groups that they were set up to serve and to clarify, if only in a minimal way, their methods for performing their job.

The departmentally-dominated divisions were usually formed after 1946; many are still waiting for a separate administrative organization. Several divisions in this category were established before 1929, but they were exceptions. (They were either small church-related colleges involved in a limited effort or they were, as at Harvard, assigned low-priority because of the traditional emphasis of the parent institution.) Only one state-supported extension division established before 1929 was still in the stage of departmental domination. A case study of an institution like this might be quite illuminating; it might show why such divisions fail to grow out of the early stages in the growth cycle and thus help to refine understanding of the conditions that tend to promote growth.

University Traditions and the Budget. Few of the divisions in the stage of departmental domination were supported by any kind of official recognition of an adult public to be served. There was a minimal amount of such recognition at the state universities that were departmentally dominated, but this recognition was not developed in any elaborate way. Here, extension was considered a legitimate function; but local circumstances discouraged the investment of much effort in it. Several of these divisions were located in New England, a region that never has become excited about extension. Ohio State was a middle western institution that did not develop a complex adult division because it originally began its work in a state that was dotted with denominational colleges that had, so to speak, "divided up the state." Most of the departmentally dominated divisions did not have any well-developed notions of community service. Extension was there; students could come if they wanted an education. The idea of relating in any kind of active or aggressive way to the community was alien. This view is understandable in terms of the limited resources of most of the schools at this stage. Generally, budgets were lower in these divisions, clustering at the $1,000 to $100,000 range. Most of the divisions had a liberal arts core that determined their relationships to their own communities. Budget flexibility was also quite limited. These divisions had less than standard control over their own budgets and found it difficult to make up deficits or use surpluses. Rarely did one of these divisions have any usable risk capital.

University Acceptance. The deans and directors at these institutions generally indicated that the positions of their divisions within the larger universities were less than equal. They generally felt their second-class status; adult deans or directors rarely sat on important committees and not one commanded the chairmanship of any key standing committee. In some cases, a part-time director sat on critical university committees but it was by virtue of his other role in the university system rather than his position as adult dean.

Presidents approved of the money-making features of the adult division and of its public-relations value. Some deans or directors characterized their presidents as very enthusiastic and completely behind the adult division. Further investigation indicated that the president's enthusiasm did not go beyond a limited carbon copy of the campus program.

If the adult division was a close copy of campus, then all the deans supported the effort. This was usually a reflection of the president's attitudes. If, however, there was any move toward independence, any attempt by the adult dean or director to broaden the adult audience or reinterpret the university's commitment to adult education, this elicited almost automatic opposition from the arts and science and engineering deans. Education and commerce deans, however, continued to support the endeavor because their interests were more closely linked to an expanded adult clientele.

Faculty arrangements at departmentally dominated divisions were controlled by the department chairman with the adult dean or director acting as co-ordinator or advisor. Some of the divisions used some extra compensation faculty, either from the campus or community, but this practice was limited. There were few community faculty in these divisions since the departments were reluctant to approve them. Faculty advisory committees were not the rule; if they existed they were usually "watch dog" committees. No evolution of an adult faculty culture was possible in this type of division.

Community Context. Community support was also undeveloped. It consisted of the adult dean's informal contacts with local community people. There was little attempt to pull in industrial or business training directors and build special programs for their personnel. The adult administrator usually did not belong to many community organizations. The disadvantages of this relationship to the community are fairly obvious: the town-gown cleavage remains unbreached and university-community co-operation remains unexplored. The advantages on the other hand are that the division at this stage of development is safe from the more damaging vocational pressures of business and industry—pressures that a limited-service enterprise must find it difficult to cope with.

Adult Dean or Director. The dean or director was likely to have come from either liberal arts or education. If he was in a state school, his field was usually education. If he was in a private or church-related institution, his field was liberal arts or, less often, business administration. (Business administration backgrounds are generally rare, but if they show up at all they show up here.) Most of the deans and directors had their Masters' with a handful having only Bachelors'. Their level of educational attainment was lower than their counterparts in each of the other stages of the growth cycle. Their previous job was likely to be in university faculty. For several of them this was their first post. A large minority had come from other administrative posts in the university. If the dean was located in a state institution he was most likely to be a local social worker type. If he was in the private or church-related small evening college, he was likely to be a local scholar or local business type. The cosmopolitan scholar, businessman, and civil service administrator, local or cosmopolitan, were unlikely to appear at the stage of departmental domination.

Liberal Adult Education at the Stage of Departmental Domination

Liberal adult education at this stage of development was likely to mirror the campus or daytime program. The course numbers, content, and sometimes even the instructors, were the same. There was little or no experimentation with non-credit liberal education; even slight modifications of the credit programs for adults was atypical. The best that can be hoped for at this stage is that the traditional content will be communicated as effectively as possible. This would seem to require a cosmopolitan scholar with some concern for the quality of the offerings and a sensitive alert faculty. All effort at this stage was concentrated on credit programming.

Autonomy

Source of Control and Organization of the Adult Division. Almost 29% of the divisions were categorized in the autonomous stage of development. The group was proportionally divided between evening colleges and extension divisions. All of them had separate organizations with full-time directors. Slightly over one-half of the divisions had worked out some formal guiding principles for their enterprises. These principles were accepted by the larger university to some degree and their existence was accompanied by some freedom to develop autonomously. A large minority was still functioning with informal guiding principles, which meant that in the course of their activities they had developed some informal notions of what was important, what was not, which groups they were going after, which not. A much smaller minority had no guiding principles at all. The existence of a second-level research or liberal education staff was rare here also. There was more likelihood, however, that these divisions would have some professional second-level staff than in the case of the departmentally dominated units.

About one-quarter of the autonomous divisions were started prior to 1929 and never moved beyond the first impulse to autonomy. Another quarter began in the period from 1929 to 1946; the remainder began after 1946. The latter group had moved with considerable speed to their present stage and were more likely to move forward than their sister divisions that had been halted at this stage for a number of years.

University Traditions and Budget. Autonomous divisions were more often supported by recognition of adult needs in the parent university charter and policy than were departmentally dominated divisions. A larger proportion of state and municipal colleges and technical institutes were found at the autonomous stage. This indicated a generally more favorable situation for the adult division and implied some conception of community service on which the adult division could base its program. The institutions with liberal arts cores were less numerous here than at the earlier stage. Budgets clustered in the $100,000 to $500,000 category. Autonomous divisions tended to be larger than their departmentally dominated counterparts. They also had more budget flexibility. They were likely to handle some of their surpluses and to make up their own deficits. They usually had some risk capital for new ventures. Some of the older autonomous divisions were quite favorably situated financially: they had a great deal of freedom in using their funds and they had over 10% risk capital.

University Acceptance. Almost two-thirds of the autonomous divisions had status problems in their own institutions. The deans did not sit on powerful university councils and had no voice in over-all university affairs. Another one-third of them did: they were able to protect themselves from the larger university and maintain a semi-separated position without undue tension. These again were usually the older divisions that were not interested in moving closer to the campus and had vested interests in holding on to their separated status.

The presidents again split on attitudes toward the adult division. Some of them saw it in public-relations terms; others were more frankly interested in its money-making features. Most of the presidents who were interested primarily in income from the adult division showed up here. It is at this stage also that the opposition of the arts and sciences dean stiffens. The movement away from the campus can only be viewed by him with alarm. But the increasing opposition of arts and sciences is countered usually by the increasing support of the dean of education and the dean of commerce. These two divisions seem to function as allies throughout all the stages of the adult division. This suggests an interesting area of inquiry into the dynamics of university life. What reality factors is this "coalition" based on and does it extend to other concerns within the university? One possibility is that what seems to function as an alliance vis-a-vis the adult division is only an exceptional instance in an otherwise competitive relationship. The most obvious reason that commerce and education seem to function smoothly in relationship with the adult division is that there is rarely any overlapping jurisdiction. The adult audience of the commerce division and the adult audience of the education division are definite and distinct.

Faculty arrangements at the autonomous stage have not evolved much beyond the departmental stage. The predominant system is extra compensation using community or campus faculty. The smaller liberal arts colleges—the arts and sciences division usually—at this juncture try to prevent the use of daytime faculty by limiting the number of hours that can be taught or by not allowing overload. The effect on the adult division is to give impetus to its move away from the campus and lead it to rely more heavily on community faculty. The percentage of community faculty a dean or director can safely maintain without endangering his own division vis-a-vis the campus varies widely. But the belief prevailed that it was not safe to go beyond 50% community faculty, although many divisions exceeded this percentage at the autonomous stage. If the percentage of community faculty was higher than 50%, the dean or director usually kept this information to himself. Fewer than half of the divisions in this category had faculty advisory committees. This was higher than expected—the expectation was that gradual separation from the main campus would discourage the development of faculty advisory committees. The pattern seemed more complex than this, however. When a division developed too much antagonism or opposition by moving toward autonomy, a faculty advisory committee was set up by the arts and sciences dean, or by the faculty senate, to keep it in tow. When faculty advisory committees appeared, they were essentially "watch dog" committees.

Community Context. Community support at the autonomous stage was well developed; only a handful of divisions indicated that they had none. Support ranged from the informal type to a wide variety of combinations. It is at this stage that the adult dean can get to know his community and explore it more systematically. His membership in local business, industrial, and voluntary associations increases dramatically. It is at this point, too, that the autonomous dean becomes convinced of the importance of research into his student body. Some studies are usually conducted, the forerunners of more systematic researches later on. Simple maps are drawn to show where students come from and some kind of clientele analysis is initiated. The advantages of this information seem evident. The adult dean can use this phase of development to explore his community as fully as possible. This information and the orientation its collection develops will be invaluable at the later stages of the division. The dangers involved, however, are real. The adult dean may move so far away from the campus that he is no longer communicating with any part of it; yet the key personnel on the main campus are more likely to be convinced that a community-service orientation is a good thing if they trust the adult dean. The other danger is that the program in the autonomous divisions may reflect too directly the dominant economic interests of a city or region.

Adult Dean or Director. More than half of the autonomous deans had Ph.D.'s. Ph.D.'s were split between education and liberal arts. These deans were more likely to have an advanced degree than their departmentally dominated counterparts with a slightly higher percentage coming from liberal arts. Deans with education degrees seemed to be more responsible for moving the division to its present stage than the deans with liberal arts backgrounds. The deans with liberal backgrounds had less time on their jobs and were likely to have stepped into a division that someone else had shaped. The possibility is that these divisions may have spent their impulse toward autonomy and were preparing to move into the integration phase.

The adult administrators usually came from the faculty or from university administrative posts. A background in secondary education was most likely to show up at this stage. Administrative experience in secondary education seemed good preparation for the top administrator in an autonomous division. In many ways, the problems of running a secondary school and an autonomous division are the same—both are school systems and both are independent organizations. The imperatives operating on the secondary-school administrator and the autonomous dean are also similar; the parent faction in the high-school system is replaced by the campus faculty. Training in industry or government also fitted well into this stage of development. It is here that the adult division is least like the main university and can look like a high-school system, or a government agency, or an industrial enterprise.

If the dean was located at an urban evening college, he was likely to be a local or cosmopolitan scholar. Usually he was not responsible for shaping the division and had come onto the scene recently. The cosmopolitan scholars were rare; they were found at several of the evening divisions in "quality" institutions at the autonomous stage. The state schools seemed to attract local social worker types at this stage. The business type was not usually found here, nor were the cosmopolitan social workers or the civil service administrators.

Liberal Adult Education at the Stage of Autonomy

The divisions at this stage are attempting to solve the problems of their own identity; they are trying to discover themselves and are not particularly concerned with their relation to the total university. Liberal adult education is one of the last concerns of the autonomous divisions. The proportion of liberal credit work actually decreases at this stage and no non-credit work is substituted. It is at this stage that the vocational and professional flavor of the program is most evident. The local or cosmopolitan scholar at the autonomous stage can preserve the liberal credit offerings, but this is the best he can do. The local social worker only seems to ride out the autonomous thrust without affecting the liberal content one way or the other. Liberal adult education at the autonomous stage is a holding operation.

Integration

Source of Control and Organization of the Adult Division. Almost 26% of the divisions studied fell into the Integration category. Integration occurs when a division has exhausted its autonomous thrust and has developed enough traditions and identity of its own to move toward closer relationship with the campus. The proportion of state to private schools (excluding for the moment municipal institutions) shifts dramatically at this stage. The proportion of private evening colleges at the later stages of the growth cycle is smaller than that of the state schools. Proportionally more state schools are found in the last two phases of growth. This underlines the importance of the university's acceptance of the legitimacy of adult education. Such acceptance has enabled proportionally more adult divisions in state universities to develop to full stature. Most municipal universities are in the integration stage. They tend to cluster toward the middle of the cycle; they are not usually at the stage of departmental domination or assimilation. Municipal universities are in the same situation as regards university acceptance as their state controlled brothers. All of the divisions at this stage had separate organizations and a full-time dean or director. Schools at the stage of integration were most likely to have formal guiding principles than were those at the autonomous stage. The incidence of liberal education staff, research personnel, and second-level professional staff shows a marked increase over the earlier stages. Half of the divisions at the stage of integration were launched before 1929. A quarter began between 1929-46 and a quarter after 1947.

University Traditions and the Budget. Almost three-quarters of the divisions at the stage of Integration were supported by recognition of adult education, either in their charters or in university policy. Most of the other divisions sprang from schools with liberal arts cores where no recognition was initially given to the adult function. Several of the private schools, however, began as technical institutes or schools of business administration; this provided the impetus for them to move out to the community and encouraged the growth of the adult division.

The budgets of divisions at the stage of integration resembled those of the autonomous schools. Budgets tended to cluster in the \$100,000 to \$500,000 range, but almost half of the budgets ranged from \$500,000 to over \$1,000,000. Budget flexibility was decidedly better than at either of the earlier stages. Almost half of the divisions had better than standard budget situations: they had freedom to use surpluses, to make up deficits, and to set up divisional funds; most of them had risk capital.

University Acceptance. In three-quarters of the integrated divisions the division's status, as reflected in the dean's position on committees, was roughly equivalent to the status of the other divisions. Most presidents viewed the division as an equal member of the university system; several presidents evidenced a missionary zeal for the kind of work the adult division was doing. The pattern of support by key deans shifted quite remarkably at this stage of development: almost all the divisions had the support of all of the key deans, including the arts and sciences dean. The move back to the campus, with all this entailed in terms of building campus support, fence-mending, and the like, seemed to neutralize campus opposition dramatically. This harmony is temporary, however, and is lost as soon as the division enters the last stage of development. (The report of complete co-operation and enthusiasm may be slightly distorted: the adult dean was the one who made the report.)

The faculty arrangements at all of the integrated divisions studied were very complex. As the divisions became larger, they tended to use all types of faculty in various combinations. But usually one particular type of faculty system was prevalent at each stage of the growth cycle. (This did not mean that the typical arrangement predominated at a given institution. What it did mean was that the characteristic system was emphasized, that it was a stated policy to extend it, and that the dean's attitudes toward his faculty and the campus were shaped in terms of it.) The system emphasized at the integration stage was joint appointments. The tendency was to reduce the number and proportion of community faculty and to increase the number of campus teachers who took on adult teaching as part of their loads. (The difference between joint appointments and departmentally dominated faculty was that in joint appointments the adult dean shared the hiring and firing function with the campus dean or department head and could initiate nominations and veto those suggested by the campus.) Joint appointments of the professional staff of integrated divisions were also quite common. Faculty advisory committees were the rule, not the exception, at integrated divisions. Most of the members of these committees were appointed by the president, which tended to legitimatize adult education. It was a rare faculty advisory committee at this stage upon which the adult dean did not sit; more often he was the chairman.

Community Context. Integrated divisions tended to have informal community support that often included separate advisory committees for separate programs, over-all advisory committees, and informal contacts. Integrated divisions showed no tendency to give up community concerns that were developed at the autonomous stage. This concern had been to a certain extent institutionalized, and staff had been added to work with special community groups. At state institutions a community development division had been formed. Some integrated divisions muted their community concerns slightly during negotiations with the campus. One possible danger was that insights, informations, and orientations developed in the autonomous stage vis-a-vis the community would be abandoned in an attempt to weld the division more closely to the campus. The big advantage here was that the integrated division could communicate most effectively urgent problems to the rest of the university. The integrated division is best equipped to inform the university of community problems that are amenable to some kind of university-level solution.

Adult Dean or Director. Most deans of integrated divisions had Ph.D.'s in education. Even the minority of deans who had not gone on to the Ph.D. had A.M.'s in education. (This was unusual: at all other stages A.M.'s were in liberal arts disciplines.) The largest single group came from other administrative posts in the university; these were the professional higher-education administrators. Those who came from the faculty were likely to have been on the job from 6 to 10 years. Those who came from other administrative posts were the more recent arrivals, clustering in the 0-5 years category.

The social worker type predominated at the integration stage. Businessman and scholar had pretty much disappeared from the scene in the higher echelons; the civil service administrator was just beginning to emerge. The distinction here is largely between the local and the cosmopolitan social worker. The cosmopolitan social worker was more characteristic than the local.

Liberal Adult Education at the Stage of Integration

It is at this stage that diversified liberal programming is likely to show up, along with the conditions that are most favorable to its continued development. The autonomous episode has given these divisions a feel for their community and a realistic assessment of what can and cannot be done. If programs are dropped or de-emphasized because they are not "university level," these programs are not liberal ones and the effect is to increase the proportion of liberal offerings in the total program. The most effective administrator at this phase of growth is the cosmopolitan social worker.

Assimilation

Source of Control and Organization of the Adult Division. Thirteen per cent of the adult divisions studied were in the stage of Assimilation. These were the divisions that had a long history of activity in adult education, a diversified staff, a well-rounded program, and the confidence of the campus and the administration. Most of the divisions here were state-supported. (Only five of the eighteen were private.) The resources that it takes to allow the full development of an adult division are more often found in state-supported schools. They have the money and so they accept the broad responsibility in the field of adult education. The private schools at this stage resemble the state-supported extension divisions and all have been associated for a long time with the official extension association (NUEA). All of the divisions at the stage of assimilation had separate organizations, a full-time dean or director, and a professional second-level staff. All but two had liberal education staff specifically assigned to programs in the area of liberal education. Most of them also had research personnel or a staff person whose specific function was to experiment and dream up ideas.

Most of the divisions at the stage of assimilation were begun before 1929. Only one was formed after 1946. However, this "older" character was to be expected: although a division might possibly move into the stage of assimilation within a 10 or 15 year period, none of those studied had done so.

The establishment of a state system of higher education is most likely to move an adult extension unit up to the stage of assimilation. This usually results in a radical reorganization of the whole university educational system in a state and establishes extension as a separate department or college within the organization (as in the Oregon system).

Traditions and the Budget. All of the divisions at the stage of assimilation were supported by explicit recognition of adult education in the university charter or in official policy statements. The most refined and extensive statements were found in the state systems of higher education. The private schools all had liberal arts cores but they had built some notions of community service into them.

Budgets at all these divisions were high, mostly in excess of $1,000,000. Budget flexibility was also more marked than in the earlier stages. Most of the divisions had considerable control over their own budgets, could do what they liked with surpluses, and could decide how much they wanted to risk in new programs.

University Acceptance. Most of the deans and directors sat on important university councils and key standing committees. Their participation in university affairs was more than just a means of protecting the adult division. They had a firmer identification with the university and they did not see the work of the adult division as peripheral to the work of the university in general. The "protective" function was important, however. The liberal tradition built up at one of the divisions was in danger of being swept away because the dean participated in no university-wide councils. Presidential attitudes were much more favorable to the work of the adult division in the assimilation stage than in the other three stages. Most of the deans said that their presidents viewed adult education as either of equal status with other functions or as privileged. (Several presidents were said to view adult education in public-relations terms—but always in the best sense of "public-relations.")

Divisions in the stage of assimilation were supported vigorously by all deans except the dean of arts and sciences. The arts and sciences opposition reappears at this stage, but not as strongly as during the autonomous stage. Half reported that they expected opposition from arts and sciences; the other half that they expected support. One suggestion that may explain this phenomena relates to the strength of the opposition. Active antagonism by arts and sciences during the early stages of growth may seriously restrict the work of the adult division and may even destroy it. Once the university accepts the work of the adult division, then the arts and sciences opposition is less serious. It becomes foot-dragging rather than a threat to the existence of the adult division.

Faculty arrangements are usually quite complex and require the use of many different types of faculty. The needs of a particular program become the determining factor in faculty selection, rather than any concern about campus acceptance or low standards. The arrangements are deliberately mixed as a matter of policy. The proportions of various types of faculty varied, however, from division to division. Several of the universities had full-time adult faculties. This was not common, however, and full-time faculty did not seem to be the prevalent tendency in university adult education.

In more than two-thirds of the cases, the deans of assimilated schools served on the university advisory committees. Committee service was very effective in solidifying faculty support for adult education and in interpreting the work of the division to the university. (Deans reported that these committees were also very fertile ground for programming ideas.) However, one of the divisions at the assimilation stage was having difficulty with the main campus; no continuing faculty committee existed to protect it from attacks by the campus. At this school, a recently formed advisory committee had no representative from the adult division to recommend organizational changes. This points up the possibly destructive role that faculty advisory committees can play vis-a-vis the adult division.

Community Context. Divisions at the stage of assimilation were most likely to have complex community support for their programs. They sponsored special programs for industry, labor, business executives, civil service personnel, housewives, etc. These programs elicited diversified support from the local community.

The big advantage at this final stage is that the division has built up enough community confidence and can persuade various segments within the community of the importance of liberal education. Some divisions have used the general vote of confidence as a lever to inject liberalizing elements into programs for various professional and vocational groups. The danger at this stage is that the division will settle for the status quo and let its experimental and innovative functions languish. The big temptation in these larger divisions is to consume all staff time in maintaining the enterprise.

Adult Dean or Director. Most deans of assimilated divisions came from either liberal arts or education and most of them had their Ph.D.'s. The largest single group came from university administration, but their professional origins were diverse. The dean was just as likely to have come from a faculty, or from university administration, or from some post outside the university. (If they had come from the faculty, it was some time ago.) These deans were the long-tenure men, many of them having served over 10 years on the job. The majority, however, had been on the job for less than 10 years. The divisions with old-timers as deans had lost most of the vitality and imagination they once may have had: these were the divisions that were suffering from hardening of the arteries and were usually run by civil service administrators, some local, some cosmopolitan. In either case, the basic interest was in the maintenance of the enterprise. The remaining divisions were staffed by cosmopolitan social worker types. These were men from the field of education, or men "converted" from some subject discipline.

Liberal Adult Education at the Stage of Assimilation

Divisions at the stage of assimilation were very congenial to liberal programming. Conditions at this stage were most favorable for developing creative and successful liberal offerings, both credit and non-credit. This is not true, however, if the dean is a civil service administrator. In this case all the favorable conditions count for nothing: the program will be big, booming, and bustling—with an absolute minimum of liberal education. The struggle at this stage is to keep the program viable and experimental. What could be the best turns out to be the worst if the dean is a civil service administrator—the worst not in terms of what actually goes on, but in terms of frustrated expectations.

The Prospect for Change

We designed this study deliberately as an exercise in policy research, implying an explicit view of desirable directions in the field of university adult education, which determined the selection of important questions to explore and the general values by which we interpreted our data. From the beginning our interest has centered on the chances for the enhancement of a specific, and on the whole, quantitatively minor activity among the total, almost infinitely varied range of activities undertaken by the adult units of the American university. The sharp focus on the one aspect results inevitably in a blurring of most of the other features of the university landscape; this is regrettable but inescapable, as all photographers and researchers know.

We are in a position, however, to assess now with considerably more confidence than before the strength and character of those forces which, were they coherent and unhindered, would result in an increase in the level of liberal adult education in the university, in both amount and quality. The preceding chapter identified the forces and discussed their interrelations and relative strengths, keeping as close to the data as possible. We propose now to apply a broader perspective and ask, under what conditions might the constellation of forces we have identified as important move the field as a whole in the direction we have specified as desirable?

For this purpose we need first of all to discriminate among the forces themselves. Some of them are obviously more accessible than others. The most feasible approach seems to be to consider some forces as structural, that is, clearly anchored to larger institutional and social contexts; this is not to say that they are unchangeable by any means, but that change occurs by linkage to larger social events. University size, for example, has been changing quite rapidly, but only because it is related to shifts in cultural attitudes toward higher education, and to changes in the birthrate. A second order of forces it is convenient to call accessible, either because they are local in character or because they appear to change fairly rapidly in an almost random fashion. Budget flexibility is a good example, for in many cases all that seems required to achieve it is a minor change in a local situation.

Structural Forces

Perhaps the most important of these is the position of the adult unit on what we have posited as a growth cycle of growth and development. The chances for a vigorous and creative program of adult liberal education seem slim for those institutions at the stage of departmental domination, best for those in the advanced stage of assimilation. We must in fairness point out what the attentive reader has already observed, that this relationship between growth cycle and a favorable environment for liberal adult education is in part an artifact of the research design itself. Some of the factors which we have used to judge position on the cycle are also, by themselves, indicators of favorable or unfavorable influences on creative programming.

By and large, however, the growth cycle, as a concept, appears to offer sufficient explanation for many of the characteristics of the field to persuade us of its usefulness as a tool. But it is obviously a condition which is very difficult to influence one way or another. Further research may eventually yield a considerably more detailed picture of the laws by which it operates, if indeed there is lawfulness present, and may tell us what combinations of historical events and institutional arrangements move divisions from one phase to another. Even if we knew those laws now we would find it difficult to envision a way of hastening the process.

There would be some basis for complacency if we could assume what the growth cycle, as a construct, appears to assert: that the major historical thrust in the field is in the direction of an assimilated adult unit. This is seductive, as most historical determinisms are, but recent events in the field make it difficult to hold to such a view. Several of the assimilated divisions which were part of this study have been involved in struggles as yet unresolved that look a good deal as though regression to an earlier phase of the cycle is possible. This raises several possibilities. Instead of a steady movement in one direction along the cycle, perhaps the real movement is a type of forward moving oscillation. Or, what we have been assuming is a straightline is in actuality circular, and there may be a tendency for institutions to go back through the cycle again.

It is easy to speculate that these recent counter-pressures on assimilated adult units arise as a rearguard action of the most traditional core elements of the university, or as one adult educator has proposed, are a symptom of the growing awareness of the previously docile academic man that he now has considerable power if he chooses to exercise it. Whatever the reasons may be, the main issue for the growth cycle theory is whether the recent events mean merely that university faculties, awakening at last to a danger that they had previously only grumbled about, are trying to assure their control over the standards of the credit program, or that the stage of assimilation carries within it the seeds of its own possible destruction. In the first case, the result may be a happy resolution of the ambiguities which are a part of university adult education generally, as it tries to operate both a relatively pure adult program and a remedial "night school," if the consequent financial problems can be solved. In the other case, we may be forced to conclude that the assimilated adult unit within the context of the American university is an anomaly rather than an expected culmination of known developmental forces.

But, like the Bemelmans' waiter, for one cutlet we cannot cut up our elephant. The growth cycle concept seems at the moment too useful as a general approach to abandon, until events have become considerably more clear than they are now. Although it may be far from offering a comforting sense of determinism, or a readily manipulable force for change, it provides the leadership of university adult education with a relatively orderly perspective for judging their own institutional position and trends in the field generally.

A somewhat related structural force is the presence of a consolidated separate unit for adult education. One might take as axiomatic that institutions will spend time, money, and energy only on those things it considers important, and one of the measures of importance here are the tangible buildings and salaries of the separate administrative unit. The existence of such an entity by no means guarantees or even predisposes toward an active, creative liberal program but it appears to be an almost indispensible prerequisite for it, and we might suppose that as the number of separate units increases the basic chances for liberal adult education will better.

The trend is somewhat in doubt, not only in the present university world but in the large society that may be assumed to influence it. A decade ago, perhaps, one might have confidently assumed that in a society on the road to a thoroughgoing bureaucratization, increasing complexity of task would predictably result in a specialization of function and a consequent separation of specialized units. But even in industry the proliferation of specialized units seems time after time to hit a point of diminishing returns, and the counter-trend of centralized control appears. A good example, in an area at least peripheral to the educational world, is the Ford Foundation, which began by establishing highly specialized, autonomous units and has reversed itself in the past ten years. The university is a bit too chaotic, however, to make any firm generalizations; the increasing specialization of the scholarly disciplines, and the notorious indifference of most scholars to what goes on in fields other than their own, may substantially aid the basically strong forces toward decentralization.

Increasing specialization of the disciplines may influence favorably still another of the structural forces, the status within the university of the adult unit. As we pointed out in the preceding chapter, the president's view of the importance of adult education may be decisive here, but even when that attitude is favorable, the dean or director must carry on day-to-day negotiations with the deans of the various academic divisions. Our data indicate a slightly better than 50 per cent chance that the arts and sciences dean will oppose the adult unit. We might argue, then, that any general trends such as increasing specialization of academic disciplines which favor the growth of departmental autonomy, will tend to be in aid of the adult unit. That they also favor the indifference of the department to outside activities, and might lead to rejection of co-operation with other divisions, is also likely; but one toss of the dice is more drastic than thirty tosses.

A fourth force is the control over faculty assignments which we studied in the form of existing contract arrangements. Not unreasonably, it turns out that the most favorable general state of things is a considerable degree of control by the adult unit administrator over these arrangements. One would suppose, consequently, that the greatest degree of control, as represented by the special, separate faculty for the unit, might be the most favorable. It happens, instead, that the diversified systems, in which a number of control patterns are possible and present, are most favorable to creative liberal programming, suggesting that other and more important factors underlying the control over faculty are at work.

The explanation of the discrepancy probably lies in the fact that those units which have been permitted to employ a large proportion of their own faculty do so only within the standard credit framework, the only stable financial base in the system. Its very stability, however, makes unlikely any considerable degree of creative variation, a point which a number of administrators would surely want to contest but which seems on the face of it a reasonable proposition. The presence of diversified faculty arrangements, on the other hand, is merely a reflection, possibly, of the existence of a diversified program, an indicator itself of a willingness to depart from basic pattern in some directions at least. Faculty arrangements, therefore, is probably almost completely a dependent variable. If an administrative staff has not conceived of a new or special program, they will see no need for making different kinds of arrangements for faculty members to teach in it.

Finally, several of the structural forces appear to be so basic in the historical and social context of the individual university that, though it is easy to generalize about them, any change would appear to involve geologic time perspectives. One of these is the general position historically taken by the university toward its responsibility to the public, or the citizen; more broadly, the university's self-image. The crucial importance of this factor finds demonstration in a recent attempt to dismantle a large and vigorous adult unit—the official responsible invoked the sanction of a university's primary duty to concentrate on research. To be sure, the mere existence in a charter of a statement of the importance of public service is not enough; we have pointed out the need for an articulate group within the university to call attention to it.

Size and age of the university, similarly, appear to be favorable conditions which are just given by the circumstances, and we would expect them to be so by derivation from the growth cycle hypothesis. One might assume that only after a university has grown to a certain point will the necessary resources of faculty and administrative energy for the development of a diversified adult unit be present. Again, except for pointing out the generally favorable trend of increasing university size in an age of rising enrollments, one can only suggest that this is not an area for possible planned change, but perhaps a guide for the concentration of attention and effort.

Potential Change Conditions

We have noted in the preceding discussion where changes are likely to occur in structural forces by the impact of broad social trends. But even such obdurate and inaccessible forces may be amenable to some deflection by planned efforts, and we suggest some possibilities below.

Institutions, no matter how complex and monolithic they may be, are made up of people, and if their attitudes toward what is important are crucial one can at least conceive of circumstances which might change the basic attitudes. The number of university presidents, deans, and liberal arts faculty in the general system we are interested in is relatively small, and the channels which command their attention are well marked. Recent examples of the effects of national studies of educational enterprises conducted by committees of great prestige suggest that under favorable circumstances institutional views of what is important can at least be made unstable.

Such a study of university adult education is now under discussion. It will involve a number of people whose views are bound to be treated with some respect by the audience we have specified and, hopefully, may make a major contribution to the clarification of educational purpose of the adult units we have been studying, and of the place of liberal education within those purposes. University adult education is far from being the systematic and well-defined entity that the American high school is; but it is possible that the very ambiguity of the conflicting cross-currents in the adult field may help to give importance to a systematic, vigorous statement of aims from a nationally respected source.

Another unexploited possibility is to make use of already existing predispositions toward liberal education among university academic officials. Many of the unfavorable attitudes among this group are directed either toward programs they regard as inappropriate to the university, in subject matter or level; or toward those credit programs they feel are not on the same level of standards. Disregarding the justice of these views, it is nonetheless true that among them is not included university-level liberal education for adults outside the credit framework. All other things being equal, one of the forces favoring the growth of such programs, then, ought to be their usefulness in modifying attitudes toward the adult unit in general. The possibility of activating the force, however, depends on a number of factors to be discussed later.

Beyond the potential change in the forces themselves lies the possibility of improving strategies on the local level for employing the existing framework of forces. More accurate and systematic knowledge of relevant processes such as teaching, learning, and curriculum development can lead to more intelligent choices in a given force field. The academic man, moreover, by training and inclination, is apt to recognize as meriting respect any matters or concepts which have been carefully studied and about which there is a body of knowledge and generalization available. A growing amount of good research in the field of university adult education is therefore worth encouraging on two major counts. The following areas suggest themselves immediately:

1. We need to know which teachers of adults are most effective, and why; if possible, we should have a set of workable criteria for identifying these teachers without great difficulty.

2. We need to know how adults learn best, and under what conditions; to be convincing, such data needs to be a great deal more rigorous than our present hunches or convictions, no matter how persuasively stated they may be, and require the development of adequate tests and measurements devices.

3. We need to gather data on a great variety of curriculum patterns, and find ways of making clear the principles underlying their development.

On a more general level, we have already indicated the desirability of further work on the growth-cycle approach to the broader questions of university adult education. Investigation might center on any of the following issues:

1. How do the forces hypothesized as liberal program determinants cluster or pattern at the various stages?

2. The theory of growth was based on large multi-purpose university developments. Does the theory apply to other than these? In what ways would we have to qualify or modify the approach for smaller universities or liberal arts colleges?

3. How does the growth of the adult division relate to the cycle of growth of the university itself?

4. Why do some adult divisions of complex university structures never develop beyond the first stage of growth?

5. What is the time sequence from one stage to another? Why do some move more rapidly than others? Does the fact that a division moved quickly at first tell us anything about the later stages of growth?

Accessible Forces

By all odds the most important determining force for the presence or absence of a creative liberal education program is the attitude of the administrative person in command of the unit, the dean or director of the evening college or extension division. Given unfavorable structural forces in which to operate, such a person if zealous enough could outweigh them; given a relatively favorable situation an administrator indifferent to liberal education as a value can ignore the opportunities available.

This is by no means a fully expected conclusion. Under conditions of increasing bureaucratization the "middle-management" role in our society is a restricted one. One has to go quite a considerable distance up the institutional ladder before one begins to find figures with freedom to order events as they wish, although middle levels of management may have abundant opportunity to block or divert action. The potential freedom of the command administrator of the adult unit, therefore, is quite surprising; lest some readers, on the basis of personal experience, find it not surprising but incredible, we hasten to stress the general nature of the finding, not its specific application.

We place the discussion of this force with those more readily accessible to change for a number of reasons. Perhaps the most powerful one is that should the administrator become convinced of the value of developing special types of liberal education for adults he is in a position to set appropriate forces immediately into action. This is not to say that conviction always and inevitably results in program—any number of local factors enter here as possible intermediates—but the probability is high, which is about all one can ask. A second reason relates to the shifting nature of the field itself. Over half of the administrators surveyed had been in their position for less than five years, which argues for a rather rapid turnover in such posts. The most rapid turnover occurs, to be sure, in institutions at early stages in the growth cycle, where any newcomer with bright ideas would have the greatest difficulty carrying them out, but the general situation is favorable. Recent signs of at least the beginnings of a development of professionalization in the field constitute a third reason, because professionalization favors a cosmopolitan outlook and encourages horizontal movement from adult unit to adult unit, rather than to other divisions of the university. To take the most optimistic view of the possibilities, professionalization of any sort encourages the development of commitment to adult education which tends to be favorable to liberal education; it also results in a certain amount of group pressure on the relatively large number of new people coming into the field to adopt such a commitment and thus accelerates a trend to cosmopolitanism.

Of course, one might argue that generally opposed to such a trend toward professionalization are those weighty forces in the culture acting on the administrative role to push it toward the image of the organization man. There is considerable evidence, too, that the adult education field tends to resist professionalization as well as tentatively reach toward it. The lack of any accurate data makes it difficult to assess the possible resolution of such conflicting trends, but there seems to be at least as much reason for concluding that existing trends favor the positive increase of this force as for taking the opposite view.

Most of the other important forces are to some extent under the control of the administrator in command. A good example is the presence on his staff of a person whose time is devoted to liberal education programming. The importance for the creation of successful liberal programs of the availability of sufficient energy for planning and promotion seems painfully obvious, but many busy administrators have renounced liberal education as hopeless after trying to launch a program with an already over-busy left hand. Our data are unclear on the supporting trends, but there seems to be some evidence that the larger operations are hiring more, and more highly specialized, staffs. If this is a real trend, then the prospect is encouraging for the growth in significance of this particular force. There is perhaps room here for a positive modification of Parkinson's Law, which we might state as: if an administrator is hired to do something which the organization considers a minor activity, he will try to make it a major activity.

The proportion of campus faculty used in the general adult program appears, on analysis, to be a force of considerable ambiguity. Our data indicates that a high proportion of campus faculty is favorable to the presence of the sorts of programming we are interested in. This seems obvious enough, because liberal programs almost require campus staffing, traditionally; most historians, philosophers, social scientists, and the like are found on university faculties. Moreover, where the proportion of teachers in the unit recruited from the community approaches the half-way mark it appears to mobilize the fears of the faculty about standards. The ambiguity arises from the need, in special adult programming, for a considerable degree of adaptability to student requirements in the form of reality-testing demands and the application of theory and generalization to experience. Some campus faculty can adjust to these requirements, but a good many cannot, and increasing academic specialization argues against a rise in the number who can.

The increase in the force in the future, and its favorable utilization, then, probably depends on the extent to which administrators can develop criteria for selecting adaptable faculty, on how willing they are to enforce such selection procedures, and perhaps on the acceptance of effective training methods.

A related force is the presence of a faculty committee, which apparently acts to legitimize the adult unit, particularly if it is appointed by the president. Perhaps it appears to relate so closely to creative programming because as a strategic device it is worth the effort only if one is actually doing something different from the basic, accepted pattern. If this is the case, then to encourage the development of faculty committees, as an isolated act, would be futile. One might expect, however, that any increase in diversified programming might result in an increase in the number of committees on the general scene, and they might thus turn out to be a useful indirect indicator.

The beginnings of what may be a general trend toward increasing concern among faculties about adult units and their activities, discussed previously, suggest that the strategy of the faculty committee may be more widely used in the future than our data indicates has been true in the past.

Finally, a force which is only partly under the control of the administrator, budget flexibility. Whether this is favorable or not depends clearly on whether the administrator wishes to take advantage of its existence to further strong liberal education convictions. In a number of cases, existing flexibility remained unutilized.

It is difficult to assess the future of this force. Recent cuts, by some state legislatures, in subsidies previously available to large extension divisions, suggest that for some parts of the field the immediate future might hold a reduction of flexibility. No one can guess very accurately at this stage whether this represents a trend or is merely a reflection of immediate political factors. There appears to be no similar movement among the urban evening colleges, so it may be a transient political factor at work.

Potential Change Conditions

Clearly, this set of forces relates so significantly to the attitudes and actions of the chief administrative officer of the adult unit that the discussion of conditions for change can concentrate almost entirely on the conditions as he sees them, or may see them in the future. This final section is therefore devoted to some suggestions which might help him to become a more effective force for liberal adult education.

I. Attitudes toward Education. A growing literature on the purposes of adult education and its relation to the university needs to be maintained as a stable part of the field's environment. No one part of it is likely ever to change anyone's mind, but the impact of continued, thoughtful reflection on a given field can have a general effect on the level of activity. More narrowly, we suggest that particular attention be devoted to the clarification of the meaning of liberal education, about which there is considerable confusion. Widely held assumptions about the relation between the liberal arts, liberal education, general education, etc., require close examination, alternative and clear definition, and discussion.

II. Attitudes toward Administrative Role. The importance of the issue of professionalization can hardly be over-emphasized. The condition for greatest potential change might well be the establishment of a firm sense of profession among the administrative staffs of university adult units, a condition which at the present seems somewhat mirage-like. Continued discussion in the field of the issue would have considerable value in clarifying the various resistances to the idea of professionalization and to its closely related need for professional training.

Experiences which are consonant with a self-image of "educator" rather than an image of pure "administrator" appear to be valuable conditions, if we interpret our data correctly. Opportunity for personal contact with ideas and the arts in an adult learner role has experimentally proved successful in affecting role concept of administrators to some degree and the more of this, presumably, the better.

III. Attitudes toward Probable Success. Many administrators regard liberal programming as terra incognita in which the chances of costly failure are high. The fear of failure, an extraordinarily powerful deterrent, can be lessened partially at least by relevant kinds of knowledge, some of which are not now available. Some solid experimentation which pin-points the publics for liberal education would be helpful, particularly if it included information on the effectiveness of various approaches to them. Exchange of personnel, or the establishment of internships at institutions firmly in the stage of assimilation and with active liberal education programs would result in the wider spread of personal experience with effective technical procedures. More generally, there is need for a greater opportunity for success experiences, or at least the meaningful perception of the successes of others, not only through publications, which are least effective if also least expensive, but contact at workshops, visits, etc.

Studies of budgeting practices would provide another type of needed information, if they emphasize the search for ways of using budgets flexibly. Pure status studies are likely, at the present, to inhibit change, to the extent that individuals in the field look to them for guidance—present norms thus take on the character of rules. Usable ways of introducing liberal aims into educational programs other than the liberal arts would provide an opportunity for taking an exceedingly important step without also taking the risk of total program creation.

* * * * *

The education of adults by the university is still a youthful field, buoyant and incredibly active and, again like the young, uncertain and conflicted. The present study could not attempt to be calmly scientific and definitive, it was the first such exploratory look at this level that has been attempted. The suggestions we have made in this final chapter consequently have a kind of rough, hopeful, approximation about them that suit the air of the study itself. If one asks: What, over all and in the final balance, are chances for the eventual development of a truly well-educated body of adult citizens in this country—who will appreciate and support a high level of the arts, who are rational and capable of exercising discriminating judgment on important matters, who love ideas and willingly tolerate wide diversity in them—what are the odds? We should have to say that if the American university is the only instrument that can achieve such a state, the present study does not encourage any reckless betting.

But there is another answer, which suggests that the question ought properly to be addressed to the developing and changing American character. Does an aging population mean that we will have more mature, questioning, responsible individuals, seeking answers to the ultimate questions raised by the human conditions, or more settled-in, middle class complacency? Will the complex and terrifying dangers of a hydrogen age produce a challenging response, an active effort to find rational solutions, or a desperate search for whatever security can be found in clinging to the stereotyped, safe ones? No one knows, and it is surely too much to ask a single institution to do something about. But should any considerable body of citizens come to the university and ask it to help confound the theorists of mass culture, the university will just as surely respond—and it has the resources and structures to do it.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES

A description of:

A. The criteria used in defining categories of activity;

B. The kind of methodology employed;

C. The definitional and operational problems encountered, and their solutions;

D. The theoretical framework that shaped the research;

E. The specific statistical method used in the preliminary analysis of data.

A. Liberal Program Activity

Announcements, brochures, and catalogs of evening and extension organizations were relied upon exclusively as the source for the data on activity. The quality of the liberal offerings in both the credit and non-credit fields was examined. Schools were ranged along a four-part continuum from "inactive" to "very active," as follows:

1. Inactive: Adult divisions in this category copy campus or daytime operations and do little more than put on extension classes. "Inactive" programs are oriented toward vocational, professional, and/or technical advancement and toward the needs of late starters. Credit courses predominate; non-credit offerings are minimal where they exist at all.

2. Slightly active: This category includes schools that offer credit programs exclusively, but that have nevertheless raised themselves from the inactive level by offering two-year certificates, or a solid program of liberal education courses or workshops. The category also includes schools that offer credit and non-credit programs reflecting some interest in liberal education. Emphasis has shifted slightly from the needs of late starters to the needs of the community. However, it is difficult to identify any strong commitment to liberal education.

3. Active: These schools offer both credit and non-credit liberal arts courses and are aware of the notion of "especially for adults." Most of their experimentation is in the non-credit field but a variety of methods is utilized in program presentation.

4. Very active: These four schools are doing as much or more in adult liberal education as can be expected. They have high-quality courses in both the credit and the non-credit areas. They are characterized by a willingness to experiment with both content and method.

B. Type of Research

A combination of survey research and case-study analyses was chosen to accumulate data for the study.

A detailed questionnaire was sent to 266 universities and colleges. This questionnaire was designed to elicit information regarding the forces that shaped program activity. Two-hundred and twelve (79.7%) of the schools responded, but only 194 of the responses were usable.

Intensive interviewing was conducted in eighteen universities for the purposes of validating information revealed in the questionnaires, clarifying problems identified therein, and getting a more adequate picture of the dynamics of the situation within particular universities.

The eighteen schools were chosen as a representative sample of the 266-school total:

1. Type
    - A. Seven state universities: two comprehensive state universities, three separate state universities, one land-grant university, one extension center
    - B. One municipal university
    - C. Eight private universities
    - D. One liberal arts college
    - E. One technical institute
2. Region
    - A. Northeast area: six institutions
    - B. North Central: three institutions
    - C. South Atlantic: six institutions
    - D. West South Central: one institution
    - E. West area: two institutions
3. Associational membership
    - A. AUEC: eleven institutions
    - B. NUEA: seven institutions
4. Breakdown by liberal program activity
    - A. Inactive: two institutions
    - B. Slightly active: ten institutions
    - C. Active: six institutions
    - D. Very active: none[1]

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[1] The objective here was not merely to get a representative sample of all the schools but to focus on those schools which had some potentiality for moving up to the next activity category. Consequently, the distribution is loaded toward the inactive end of the continuum. The most active schools were covered in preliminary interviewing so that we could build up our observations and hypotheses.

5. Year adult division was established as a separate unit

   A. Not a separate unit: four
   B. Before 1929: four
   C. 1929-1946: four
   D. 1947-present: six

The interviewing was conducted by the CSLEA staff after an intensive two-day interviewing institute. The interviewing was done by six teams of two people each, visits lasting from two days to a week. Interviews were conducted with the evening or extension deans, the chief budget officer in the university, the vice president of academic affairs, and favorable and unfavorable department chairman.

The chief budget officer was selected because of an interest in (a) the extent to which the budget system determines the activities of the evening and extension dean, in (b) the ways in which the budget system binds the dean formally and informally, and in (c) the influence of the budget officer on the program. The vice president of academic affairs was interviewed to determine the attitude of central administration regarding adult division activities and to determine the influence of central administration upon the policies of the adult division. Interviewing favorable and unfavorable department chairmen was a way of sampling faculty attitudes toward the adult program.

All of the people interviewed were questioned along the following lines:

How did the program begin?
How is it presently sustained?
What would it take to change the program?

Interviewers were urged to contact and interview other university people on their own, especially if such supplementary interviews would help them fill in the story of adult education at a particular university. In some instances, consequently, former deans were interviewed.

Interviewers were asked to note environmental features that would help in interpreting interview material: impressions of the city and of the university location; impressions of the university as a whole and of the location of the adult division with reference to the rest of the university. (Ecologically this seemed quite significant. A marginal enterprise tends to be located at the periphery of the university or in some situation [e.g., in a basement] that suggests recent arrival and low status. At one municipal college the adult division was located squarely in the center of the campus; this location pointed to the tremendous influence of that division within the larger university. At another university the adult division was located at the edge of the campus in a former school for the blind.)

Interviewers also looked at the town-gown relationship. Did cab drivers, policemen, and hotel personnel know where the university was and how to get to it? (In one instance four cab drivers had to be approached before one knew even vaguely where a private evening college was located.) Some interviews were held in cabs or in restaurants. One staff member interviewed two campus deans, one at a time, on the steps of a gym on a gusty autumn day: registration was being held in the gym and the deans were reluctant to leave the premises.

Budget officers, imposing and tight lipped, were most difficult to interview. Whether this was because university financing is an especially sensitive area or because the budget officers were trying to be helpful but not informative, is an open question.

Reception of Center personnel was generally quite cordial. University personnel were most helpful in co-operating in the study, although many of them were not quite sure what the interviewers were up to. At several universities, Center staff members were treated as visiting dignitaries and much time was spent in visiting with the brass: this tended to obscure the interviewers' roles as interviewers engaged in a research project.

C. Some Definitional and Operational Problems

The overall aim of the study was "to obtain the kind of knowledge about adult education in institutions of higher learning that will best aid in developing strategies for broadening and making more effective activities in these institutions." This general aim had to be translated into more specific and concrete terms before research could begin. In the process of translation, a number of important definitional problems emerged.

1. What is meant by "institutions of higher learning"?

   All the schools of the Association of University Evening Colleges and the National University Extension Association were selected as part of the sample. Another 100 schools holding membership in the American Association of Colleges, principally small liberal arts colleges, were added. The conviction on the part of the investigators was that this was a realistic sample of most of the work being carried on in adult education at the university level. Indeed the sample covered most of what is presently being done: must of university adult education (in terms of money spent and of faculty and students involved) is concentrated in these schools.

2. How can the wide variation in activity be dealt with?

   Because there was such a bewildering variety of activities—concert series, classes, community-development projects, etc.—most of the data was non-comparable, except insofar as it was re-grouped into equally-weighted units. Included in the Statistical Supplement was a wide range of activities, including courses, conferences and institutes, tutorials, and instruction through media. The goal was to determine enrollments in all of these activities and then to translate the enrollments into full-time equivalents.

3. How is it possible to deal with the great variation in sizes of the organizations?

   The schools studied ranged from small ones with several hundred students and a part-time director to large ones with thousands of students and sixty professional faculty members. How could any instrument be constructed so that it would be meaningful to all these divisions? The detailed questionnaire was designed so that it would catch all the nuances of the largest organizations. This made sections of it irrelevant to the smaller organizations or those with part-time directors. No problems emerged here: when a section of the instrument did not apply in a particular situation, the respondent simply ignored it.

4. Not only is there a great variation in size, but there is a great range in organizational patterns of the adult division. How could this be handled?

   Here the task was to set up a whole range of organizational patterns and make certain that all were covered. Three basic models were provided for the respondents to relate to. (Which comes closest to yours?) Respondents were also asked to diagram their organizational set-ups. These diagrams were used to provide an idea of the amount of variation; they were also valuable checks on the adequacy of the models used and valuable tools for sharpening the details of the models.

5. Just what is meant by making liberal education more effective?

   This important question is discussed in detail in the first chapter.

D. Theoretical Considerations

The situation within which university adult education functions may be viewed as an "equilibrium in movement." The question to be asked, then, is the same one Lewin asked in looking at German culture.[1] "How can a situation be brought about which would permanently change the level on which the counteracting forces find their quasi-stationary equilibrium?" The constellation of particular forces operating to maintain the present equilibrium has to be upset and a new pattern established. Some of the conservative forces can be attacked most easily from within the situation, others can be worked on most effectively by outside agencies like foundation groups. Before a program can be worked out, a detailed analysis of the present situation is required: the forces operating within the situation must be identified and their tendencies to further or thwart desired changes must be determined. This kind of analysis can effectively isolate areas that are amenable to attack, using limited resources, to finish the steps built into the scheme. Once these changes are effected, the new situation must then be stabilized so that it will be maintained.

The study attempts to bring together two different explanatory schemes—the growth-cycle approach and the force-field analysis. Social science studies that use organic or biological imagery (growth cycle, natural history, organism) tend to focus on the more enduring features of the phenomena under investigation. Studies that use field analogies or mechanical imagery tend to be more concerned with the phenomena in terms of how it can be changed. Thus a growth cycle approach tends to be more congenial to the "conservative," while the mechanical approach tends to be more congenial to the "radical."

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[1] Kurt Lewin, "The Special Case of Germany," Public Opinion Quarterly, VII, Winter, 1948 (555-59).

The report first sketches in some of the factors that led to the present picture in liberal adult programming at a university level. It then attempts to distinguish some of the forces that at present tend to sustain this equilibrium. Then some of the influences that are shaping the liberal adult education picture for better and worse are delineated. The report concludes with a series of recommendations to the Center and the Fund for Adult Education, outside agencies interested in certain changes in the field, and to personnel within the field itself.

E. Statistics

Definitions Utilized

In all of the report's statistical charts, the following definitions were utilized: (1) Enrollments: Respondents were asked to record the number of enrollments or registrations rather than the number of different people involved. (2) Distribution by Field: Here the breakdown suggested by the U. S. Office of Education Categories was used. The Liberal Arts thus includes Biological Sciences, Humanities, Physical Sciences, and Social Sciences. (3) Types of Instruction: The two main types of instruction were those in which the participants met with the instructor face-to-face and those in which the contact was only through media (radio, TV, correspondence). If both kinds of instruction were involved in the same program, it was classified as face-to-face instruction. (4) Extended Non-Credit: In order to omit those programs that were so short as to be ephemeral, the respondents were asked to report only non-credit courses that met four or more times and conferences and institutes that met for four or more days (counting fractions at the beginning and end as whole days). (5) Part-time Student: Any student who carried three-fourths of a normal load for one academic term was to be classified as a full-time student. All others were to be classified as part-time students. (6) Types of Credit: Each program was to be categorized according to the most valuable type of credit that was available. It was not necessary that all of the students in the program actually received this kind of credit. For example, if any student in a specific course could receive residence credit for the work, the course was to be classified as offering residence credit. If none of the students could receive residence credit but some or all could receive extension credit, the program was to be classified as offering extension credit. If no student could receive any kind of credit, it was to be classified as a non-credit course.

Percentage Response by Program

The responses to the three charts on program were as follows: Chart One—Total program, 119 statistical forms received, 55 usable (46%); Chart Two—AUEC Program, 74 statistical forms received, 32 usable (43%); Chart Three—NUEA Program, 45 statistical forms received, 23 usable (51%).

Response by Enrollments

The response to the three charts on enrollment were as follows: Chart Four—Total Enrollments, 119 statistical forms received, 67 usable (56%); Chart Five—AUEC Enrollments, 74 statistical forms received, 42 usable (57%); Chart Six—NUEA Enrollments, 45 statistical forms received, 25 usable (56%).

Response by Field of Study

The responses to the three charts on field of study were as follows: Chart Seven—Total Field, 119 statistical forms received, 45 usable (38%); Chart Eight—AUEC Field, 74 statistical forms received, 28 usable (38%); Chart Nine—NUEA Field, 45 statistical forms received, 17 usable (37%). These charts are compiled in terms of enrollments.

Appendix 2

FORCE SITUATION

Certain factors which tend to encourage liberal education for adults have been identified and quantified. Appendix 2 explains the way in which the schools were assigned to a particular category.

For working purposes six major categories were established to group 27 pertinent questionnaire responses. The breakdown is as follows:

I. Budget
   1. Amount
   2. Deficit Operation
   3. Disposition of Surplus
   4. Risk Capital
   5. Percentage of Risk Capital

II. Traditions
   1. Separate Administrative Unit
   2. Source of Control
   3. Guiding Principles

III. President and Key Deans
   1. Attitude of President
   2. Attitude of Liberal Arts Dean
   3. Attitude of Engineering Dean
   4. Attitude of Education Dean
   5. Attitude of Commerce Dean

IV. Community Support

V. Faculty
   1. Faculty Arrangements
   2. Faculty Advisory Committee

VI. Dean Himself and His Staff
   1. Research Person
   2. Primary Responsibility
   3. Last Responsibility
   4. Emphasis Revealed in Choice of Responsibility
   5. Plans for Liberal Education
   6. Staff in Liberal Education
   7. Dean's Degree
   8. Dean's Field
   9. Pride in Program

10. Future Plans
11. Definition of Liberal Arts

Every possible answer to a given question was given a numerical value reflecting the importance of the item in influencing the total force situation. For example, of the major categories, the "Dean Himself and His Staff" and the "President and Key Deans" were considered the most significant, the character of community support least significant; and the points awarded were weighted accordingly. The response to the question regarding the President's attitude toward adult education was given the single highest weight for certain of the possible answers. Faculty arrangements came next in importance.

The highest possible point accumulation amounted to 112; the highest possible score, a point average, was 41.5. Each questionnaire was evaluated and the school was assigned a score. Most of the schools fell considerably below the high score of 41.5.

The cut-off points for each of the divisions of the force situation as between "Unfavorable" and "Slightly Favorable," etc., were determined in part by considering the percentage of schools in each category of activity. In addition, the schools tended to cluster around particular force scores.

Appendix 3

THE GROWTH CYCLE

A description of the criteria used in placing adult divisions on a growth continuum.

Table 43 (see p. 170) outlines the characteristics of each of the four stages of the growth cycle, constructed from conclusions about stages of growth of adult divisions resulting from preliminary interviewing. The chart represents, for the most part, an "ideal" composite of each stage, based upon theoretical criteria adjusted in minor details (as in the cases of the personal data on the Dean or Director) to correspond with questionnaire data.

In order to identify the stage of the growth cycle of each school in the sample, individual questionnaire responses were compared with Table 43. No school corresponded to the "ideal" in all features; however, certain combinations of features made the school's location on the growth cycle easily identifiable.

Schools having any or all of the following characteristics were placed automatically at the Departmental Domination stage: no separate administrative unit, part-time director, no separate budget. In addition, a number of schools were included at the Departmental Domination level because they evidenced a preponderance of features characteristic of the first stage of the growth cycle—even though they revealed none of the above-listed characteristics.

For placing a school at the Autonomous stage, the following were the most significant criteria: source of control, president's view, faculty arrangements, general budget situation.

In determining which schools were at the Integration stage, the existence of a staff in liberal education and/or the existence of research personnel were stressed.

Standards for admission to the final stage of the growth cycle were high. In order to be assigned to the Assimilation stage, the school had to comply very closely to the criteria listed in Table 43.

Appendix 4

PROFILES OF SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ADULT DIVISION

The following six profiles isolate features that relate ultimately to liberal adult programming. The profiles were developed around the following five areas:

1. Source of control and organization of the adult division. The type of organization responding is distinguished by (liberal arts college, extension division, evening college), what the character of the staff is (do they have a research person or liberal education staff?) and how old the adult division is.
2. Budget. The size of the budget is noted and the amount of budget flexibility—can the adult division make up deficits in their own program and use surpluses as they see fit? Is there any risk capital in the adult division?
3. University Acceptance. Several dimensions of university acceptance were distinguished—whether the adult dean held membership in key university committees, what the president's view of the adult division was (primarily a money making venture, good for public relations, etc.) what kind of support there was from key deans in the institution, what type of faculty personnel system was operating and whether there was a faculty advisory committee from the campus operating.
4. Community support referred to the kind of contacts the adult division had in the community. Did the adult dean have informal contacts in his own community? Was he more likely to have separate program advisory committees or was his program so diversified that he had a wide variety of community support?
5. The dean's characteristics referred to his educational preparation, the field in which he held his degrees and his previous job.

Profiles of Adult Divisions by Type of Formal Control

The responses were grouped into three general categories: those organizations indicating that their adult division had no separate organization (all adult programming under the control of residence departments); those responding that their adult program was under a full time director of adult education and those programs directed by a dean. The three groups almost paralleled the kind of institution in which the adult program functioned. Residence control was characteristic of the liberal arts college, directorship of adult programs in a separate unit was characteristic of the extension divisions and the collegial structure (as a University College) was more often found in the large private universities in urban areas. Liberal programming was least effective in those divisions which were under residence control.

Profiles of Adult Divisions by Type of Guiding Principles

The responses were isolated by the type of guiding principles the adult division had: no guiding principles formulated, informal principles and formal principles worked out by a policy making group. These three groups were compared. The characteristics of those adult divisions that had guiding principles as over and against those who had none and those who had informal objectives were sufficiently striking to be noted. Those divisions who had formal guiding principles were the most diversified and most likely to have active liberal programs.

Profiles of Adult Divisions by Age

The responses were grouped according to the age of the adult division—those established prior to 1929, those established from 1929 to 1946 and those started after the war. The similarities among the divisions established during the same period were more striking than the differences. The older divisions usually had the resources to conduct effective liberal programs but whether they did or not depended on the convictions of the dean.

Profiles of Adult Divisions by Their President's Image

The attitude the president had toward the adult division seemed to be a very important determinant of the kind of liberal programming that occurred. Four characteristic views were distinguished: the money-making view, which emphasizes the financial contribution the adult division can make to the university; the public relations view, which emphasizes the adult division's role in community relations; the equal status view, which recognizes an independent adult college with traditions of its own; and the missionary zeal view, which emphasizes the role the adult division plays in educating the adults of the community. The divisions who had presidents with these four distinctive views were likely to be quite varied in type of support within the university, size of budget, and the like. This is brought out most clearly in the profile.

Profiles of Adult Divisions by Type of Faculty

The faculty personnel system functioning at a particular adult division was not an independent variable, but those divisions emphasizing one particular arrangement at the expense of another tended to look like one another and were grouped accordingly. The four possibilities were: exclusive use of day or campus faculty, extra compensation faculty, joint appointment faculty arrangements and a mixed or diversified system.

Profiles of Adult Divisions by Growth Cycle Stage

This is a summary growth chart that groups the responding divisions by the various stages of the growth cycle. The stage of development the division had achieved was the most important determinant of the character of the division and the amount of liberal adult programming offered.

PROFILES OF ADULT DIVISIONS BY TYPE OF FORMAL CONTROL

	Residence Control Part-time Director	Full-time Director	Dean of College
Source of Control and Organization of Adult Education			
1. Type	Private-church College	Extension Division Evening College	Evening College Extension Division
2. Objectives	None-informal	Informal	Informal-Formal
3. Staff	None	Program Staff & some Liberal Education Staff	Research Person & Liberal Education Staff
4. When began	Not applicable	1929 to 1946 & 1947 to present	Pre-1929
Budgeting			
1. Size	Partly none, partly under $25,000	$100,000 to $500,000	$100,000 to over $2,000,000
2. Can make up deficits	Not applicable	Yes-No	Yes
3. Who gets surplus	University	Divisional Fund	Divisional Fund-University
4. Risk Capital	None	No fixed percentage & 10% or more	No fixed percentage
University Acceptance			
1. Major Comm.	Some membership	Some membership	Powerful Committees
2. Pres. view	Income-P.R.	P.R.-Equal	Equal status-Missionary
3. Key deans	A & S and Engineering Dean Opposed; others are not	A & S and Engineering opposed; Educ. & Comm. favorable	A & S and Engineering opposed; Educ. & Comm. favorable
4. Faculty system	Daytime Faculty	Daytime & Diversified	Diversified system
5. Faculty Committee	None	Yes, appointed by adult dean	Yes, appointed by President
Community Support			
Type Support	None or informal	Informal—separate adv. committees	Diversified support
The Dean			
1. Degrees	Master's	Master's Doctorate	Doctorate
2. Field	Bus. Ad.-Lib. Arts	Education	Liberal Arts
3. Previous Job	Univ. Ad.-Fac.	Univ. Ad.-Non Univ. educ.	University Ad.-Faculty

PROFILES OF ADULT DIVISIONS BY TYPE OF GUIDING PRINCIPLE

	No Guiding Principles	Informal Principles	Formal Principles
Source of Control & Organization of Adult Education			
1. Type	Small Liberal Arts Colleges	Extension Division	Evening College
2. Staff	None	No research person - small minority - with Liberal Education Staff	Research person & Liberal Education Staff
3. When began	Not separately organized	Partly pre-1929, partly 1947 to present	Pre-1929 and 1929-1946
Budget			
1. Size	$1-50,000 and $100,000 to $499,999	$100,000 to $499,999	$500,000 to over $2,000,000
2. Can make up deficits	No	Yes	Yes-No
3. Who gets surplus	University	Divisional Fund	University
4. Risk capital	None	No fixed percentage or 10% or more	5-10% or more
University Acceptance			
1. Major committees	Some committees	Some powerful committees	Powerful committees & chairmanship
2. President's view	Income view & P.R.	P.R. & equal status	Equal status & missionary zeal
3. Key deans	Support of Educ. & Commerce; not A & S or Engineering	All support minority w/A & S opposed & Engineering	All support minority w/A & S opposed & Engineering
4. Faculty system	Dept. control-extra compensation	Dept. control and diversified	Extra compensation and diversified
5. Faculty committee	Yes-No	None	Yes-appointed by President
Community Support			
Type	Informal support or none	Informal support & separate adv. committee	Diversified support
The Dean			
1. Degree	Master's	Master's-Doctorate	Doctorate
2. Field	Liberal Arts-Business Adm.	Liberal Arts-Education	Education
3. Previous Job	Adm. or Fac.	Adm. or Fac.	Univ. Adm. or Fac.

PROFILES OF ADULT DIVISION BY AGE

	Pre-1929	1929-46	1947 to Present
Source of Control & Organization of Adult Education			
1. Type	State Extension Division	Private Evening college & church	Private, church & state extension
2. Objectives	Formal principles	Partly no, partly formal	Partly no, partly informal
3. Staff	Likely to have research person and liberal education staff	Split between those having research persons and liberal education staff and not	No research persons, no liberal education staff
Budget			
1. Size	$500,000 to $1,000,000; Probably over $2,000,000	$100,000 to $500,000	$25,000 to $100,000
2. Can make up deficits	Yes	Yes	Yes
3. Who gets surplus	Divisional Fund	University	University-Divisional Fund
4. Risk capital	No fixed percentage or 10% or over	No fixed percentage or 10% or over	None
University Acceptance			
1. Major committees	Yes, powerful committees	Yes, powerful committees	No - or some committees
2. President's view	Equal status	Public rel.	Income-P.R.
3. Key deans	All deans but Engineering would support	All deans but Engineering would support	Education & Comm. support - A & S and Engineering opposed
4. Faculty system	Diversified	Departmental control & diversified	Daytime
5. Faculty committee	Faculty Adv. Comm.; appointed by President	Partly Faculty Adv. Comm., appointed by President - partly none	None
Community Support			
Type	Diversified	Informal-Separate Advisory Comm.	None or informal
The Dean			
1. Degrees	Master's-Doctorate	Doctorate	Master's
2. Field	Liberal Arts	Education	Education
3. Previous Job	Univ. Admin.-Faculty	Univ. Faculty-Non Univ. Education	Univ. Adm.-Non Univ. Education

PROFILES OF ADULT DIVISIONS

	Money Making View	Public Relations View
Source of Control and Organization of the Adult Division		
1. Type	Small private or church-related	Partly private urban evening colleges, partly state extension division
2. Control	Control with part-time director	Control with full-time director
3. Objectives	No objectives formulated	Informal objectives
4. Staff	Apt to be one-man operation	Full-time research person likely; minority with liberal education staff
5. When began	After 1946	Partly pre-1929, partly 1929-1946
Budget		
1. Budget size	Most likely to have no separate budget; if separate, between $10 and $100,000	Between $100 and $500,000
2. Budget flexible in re risk capital & disp. of surplus & deficit	Less than standard flexibility	Less than standard to standard flexibility
University Acceptance		
1. Major committee assignments	Likely to be on some Major univ. comm.	Likely to be on powerful committees
2. Key deans	Support of Educ. & Commerce, not A & S	Support of Educ. & Comm., not A & S or Engineering
3. Faculty system	Departmental control, extra compensation	Daytime & diversified
4. Faculty committee	No Fac. Adv. Comm. or watchdog comm.	No Fac. Adv. Comm. or watchdog comm.
Community Support		
1. Type support	Little or none	Partly informal support, partly diversified support
The Dean Himself		
1. Degrees	Bachelor's or Master's	Master's or Doctorate
2. Field	Liberal Arts	Liberal Arts or Education
3. Previous job	Other university administration and non-university education	University faculty

BY THEIR PRESIDENT'S VIEW

Equal Status View	Missionary Zeal
Partly large private evening colleges, partly state extension divisions	Partly large private evening colleges, partly state extension divisions
Dean or director of a collegiate organization	Dean or director of a collegiate organization
Formal objectives	Formal objectives
Large second-level staff, minority with liberal education	Research person and liberal education staff
Usually pre-1929	Partly pre-1929, partly 1929-1946
Between $100,000 and $500,000; some over $1,000,000	Over $500,000; most likely to be over $1,000,000
Standard to better than standard flexibility	Better than standard flexibility
Likely to be on powerful committees	Membership on powerful committees, chairman in some cases
Support of Education, Commerce, A & S and Engineering	Support of all deans
Diversified faculty	Diversified faculty system
Faculty Advisory Committee, appointed by president	Faculty Advisory Committee, appointed by president
Informal support and diversified	Diversified committee support
Doctorate	Master's or Doctorate
Education	Education
University faculty	Other university administration

PROFILES OF ADULT DIVISIONS

	Day or Campus Faculty	Extra Compensation Faculty
Source of Control and Organization of Adult Division		
1. Type	Small private evening college	Private evening college and state extension division
2. Control	Control with part-time director	Full-time director
3. Objectives	No objectives formulated	Formal guiding principles
4. Staff	One-man operation	Program staff
5. When began	After 1946	Pre-1929 & 1929-46
Budget		
1. Budget size	$1,000 to $100,000	$100,000 to $500,000
2. Budget flex. in re risk capital & disp. of surplus & deficit	Less than standard flexibility	Standard flexibility
University Acceptance		
1. Major committee	No committee memberships	Powerful committee
2. President's view	Public Relations	P.R. w/minority money view
3. Key deans	Educ., Commerce favorable, A & S and Eng. opposed	Support of Educ., Commerce, opposition of A & S and Engineering
4. Faculty Advisory Committee	Have Fac. Adv. Comm. appointed by adult dean	Have Fac. Adv. Comm., appointed by adult dean
Community Support	Little or none	Informal, partly, and separate adv. committees
The Dean		
1. Degrees	Master's	Bachelor's
2. Field	Educ.-Bus. Ad.	Liberal Arts
3. Previous job	Univ. Admin.	Industry or Government

The profile of the full-time adult faculty arrangement was not included since it duplicated the mixed system profile.

BY TYPE OF FACULTY

Joint Appointment Faculty	Mixed System
Large private evening college	State extension division
Full-time dean or director of collegiate organization	Full-time director of collegiate organization
Informal guiding principles	Partly formal-partly informal
May have research person	Res. pers. & liberal educ. staff
Pre-1929 & 1929-46	Pre-1929
$100,000 to $500,000 & over $2,000,000	Over $500,000; more likely to be over $2,000,000
Standard flexibility	Better than standard flexibility
Powerful committee membership-some chairmanships	Powerful committee membership
Public Relations-equal status	Equal status-missionary
Support of all deans, minority have A & S opposition	Support of all deans
Partly yes, partly no; appointed by President	Has Faculty Advisory Commission, appointed by President
Diversified support	Diversified community support
Doctorate	Doctorate
Education-Liberal Arts	Liberal Arts-Education
No university education	University administration & faculty

PROFILES OF ADULT DIVISIONS

	(32%) Departmental Domination	(29%) Autonomous Development
Source of Control and Organization of Adult Division		
1. Control	Part-time director	Full-time co-ordinator
2. Objectives	No objectives formulated	Informal statement of objectives
3. Liberal education staff	No	No
4. Research personnel	No	No
5. When began	After 1946	1929-1946
Traditions and Budget		
1. Charter or policy recognition of adult education	None	None
2. Budget size	No separate budget or $1 to $50,000	$50 to $500,000
3. Budget flexibility in re risk capital & dispos. of surp. & deficit	Less than standard flexibility	Less than standard to standard flexibility
University Acceptance		
1. Status of adult division	Less than equal	Less than equal
2. President's attitude	Daytime-at-night or money-making view	Money-making or public relations view
3. Key deans	Support of Education & Commerce; opposition of Liberal Arts	Support of Education & Commerce; opposition of Liberal Arts
4. Faculty Arrangements	Departmental control	Extra compensation or comb. dept'l control & extra compensation
5. Faculty Advisory Committee	No faculty advisory committee	Watchdog faculty advisory committee
Community Support	No community support to informal support	No community support to informal support
Adult Dean		
1. Educational background	Business Administration or Liberal Arts	Liberal Arts
2. Educational attainment	Bachelor's or Master's	Master's or Doctorate
3. Previous job	University faculty	Univ. fac. or outside univ.
4. Time on job	0-5 years	0-5 years
5. Orientation and attitude typology	Scholar or businessman	Scholar or social worker
6. Personal involvement	Local	Local

BY GROWTH CYCLE STAGE

(26%) Integration	(13%) Assimilation
Full-time dean or director	Dean or dir. of a college structure
Informal to formal statement of objectives	Formal statement of objectives
No-Yes	Yes
No	No
Before 1929	Before 1929
Some recognition in policy statements	Explicit recognition of adult education function
$500,000 to $1,000,000	Over $1,000,000
Standard to better than standard flexibility	Better than standard flexibility
Equal	Equal
Equality	Equality or missionary zeal
All deans support	All deans support
Joint appointment or diversified faculty	Full-time or diversified faculty
Faculty advisory committee appointed by President	Faculty advisory committee appointed by President
Separate advisory committee or diversified support	Diversified support
Education	Education or Liberal Arts
Master's or Doctorate	Doctorate
University administration or outside university	Diverse origins
6-15 years	0-15 years
Social worker	Social worker or civil service administrator
Cosmopolitan	Cosmopolitan

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